

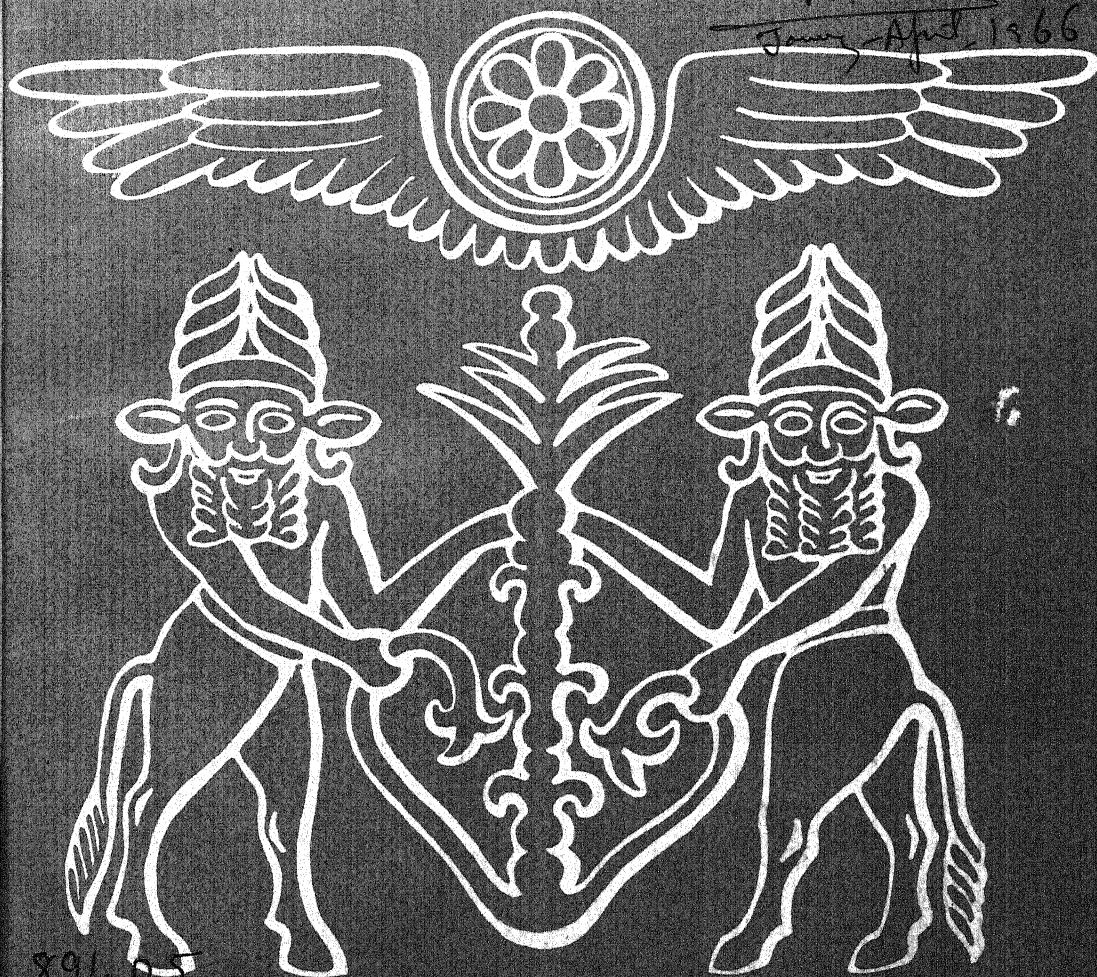
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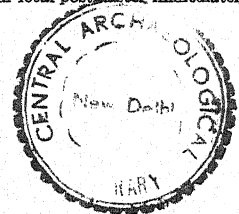
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THE SYRIAC BILL OF SALE FROM DURA-EUROPOS

JONATHAN A. GOLDSTEIN, *University of Iowa*

P. Dura 28, a Syriac deed of sale written in 243 of the Christian era, is an extraordinary document.¹ Almost perfectly preserved, it is the oldest extant piece of Syriac written on perishable material and one of the oldest Syriac texts.² It is still the only published document of an ancient slave sale in Hebrew or Aramaic.³ Written in their own native language for members of a Semitic population touched by Hellenism, who are Roman citizens, *P. Dura 28* contains many evidences of cultural interaction. Finally, *P. Dura 28* is an important link for tracing the evolution of Semitic documentary forms, for its date and the wording of its clauses show it to lie midway between earlier texts and those in the Talmudic literature and in the medieval Jewish formularies.⁴

The document was first read by C. C. Torrey,⁵ who succeeded in grasping the general content. Although his transcription and translation, with a few improvements by H. Ingholt and C. B. Welles, was incorporated in the final edition of the Dura parchments and papyri, they now leave much to be desired.

To all appearances, *P. Dura 28* is a tied double document of the type common in the third century and earlier.⁶ Accordingly, the two uppermost lines of the document should be an abstract of the text below, giving "the place and date of the document; the

¹ Photographs: YCS, V (1935), Plates I-III; W.F.G., Plates LXIX, LXXI. To the literature cited at W.F.G., pp. 145-46, add Goldstein and that given below, n. 9. For abbreviations used in this article see List of Abbreviations on p. 16.

² See Welles, YCS, V, 122-23; earlier epigraphic texts: below, n. 11.

³ Slave-sales among the still-unpublished Samaria papyri: F. M. Cross, "The Discovery of the Samaria Papyri," BA, XXVI (1963), 113, 115.

⁴ Medieval formularies: Hay (died 1038), Bargeloni (ca. 1100) and *Mahzor Vitry*; Simḥah b. Samuel of Vitry died in 1105, but the formulary, like much else in Hurwitz's edition, may be somewhat later. In any case, though briefer, its bills of sale closely resemble those of Bargeloni.

To trace in detail the origins of the clauses of *P. Dura 28* beyond the time of the Elephantine papyri is beyond the scope of this article. Cuneiform bills of sale and conveyance including those most recently discovered are collected and discussed (with reference to their "satisfaction clause") by Muffs. In his judgment (p. 291), the Aramaic formulary was probably derived from neo-Assyrian models, and those models in turn in many ways represent the culmination of the "fringe tradition" of cuneiform law represented in the provincial formularies of Susa, Kültepe, the Diyala region, Alalakh, and Ras-Shamra.

⁵ ZJS, X (1935), 33-45.

⁶ Tied double documents at Dura: W.F.G., p. 14. Cf. Y. Yadin, "Expedition D—The Cave of the Letters," IEJ, XII (1962), 236-38; and B.M.V., pp. 244-47 (exhaustive bibliography).

nature of the transaction and certain of its details; the names of the principals.⁷⁷ Torrey's attempt to render the two lines lacked all plausibility. His reading of lines 12-16 of the lower text provoked immediate comment from Carl Brockelmann,⁸ and Brockelmann's substantially correct suggestions were supported by other scholars.⁹ In a review of the *Dura Parchments and Papyri*, I suggested further corrections and reported that I had read the upper text.¹⁰ Although some passages of *P. Dura* 28 still elude me, I submit here a new text with notes justifying my readings, a translation, and a commentary relating the document to other ancient documents and systems of law.

TRANSLITERATION

UPPER TEXT

- i. (Hand A) b'yr d31 zbn m(rqy) 'wrl'y' mtr't' brt šmny zbn ltyrw br br b's
- ii. 'mt' mtsyn b(dynr) 700 brt šnyn 28

LOWER TEXT

1. (Hand B) bšnt št d'włqr'twr qsr mrqws 'n'wunyws grdynws 'wsbws 'włwks
2. sbštwš bhpty' d'nyws 'rnyws wdtrybwynyws ppws byrh' yr šnt
3. h'mšm' w'h'mšyn w'r'b' bmnyn' qdmy' wššnt tltyn w'hd' d'hrwryh
4. d'n'wunyn' 'ds' nšyht' qlwny' mtrpuls 'wrl'y' 'lksndry' bkmrwt'
5. dmrqws 'wrl'yws 'ntywks hpws rhmws br blšw w'b'str'tqwt' dmrqws
6. 'wrl'yws 'bgr hpws rhmws br m'nw br 'g' wd'bgr br h'psy br br 'q?
7. dtr'tyn zbnyn bywm tš't mwdyn' mrqy' 'wrl'y' mtr't' brt
8. šmnbrz br 'bgr d'yt' 'dysyt' llwqs 'wrls tyrw br br b'smn
9. h'rn'y' dqblt mnk dynr' šbm' wzbnt lh 'mtsyn 'mt' dyl'y
10. zbyn' thw' brt šnyn 'šryn wtmn' ytyr 'w h'syr mn šby' hkn
11. dmn ywmn' w'lm' thw' 'nt tyrw zbw'n' wyrtyk šlyt b'm't' hd'
12. dzbnt lk lmqn' wlmzbnw wlm'bd bh kl dtsb' w'n' nš ndwn 'w
13. nthg' 'm tyrw zbw'n' 'w 'm yrtw'hy 'l hšbn 'mt' hd' dzbnt lh
14. 'qwm 'n' mtr't' mzbnnyt' wyrty w'dwn w'mrq w'dk' w'qymy'h
15. bgdh dtyrw zbw'n' w' 'šilt lmhpk bml'y štr' hn' wzbnt'h
16. lk 'mt' hd' ?? 'm?? ?? 'nmws dmk' w'dm' lyrh' št' šlmyn
17. whkn' hwt tawy bynthwn d'n t'rq lh 'mt' hd' mn ywmn'
18. wlhl mn gdh dtyrw zbw'n' w'tktbw l'zbynt' hd' štr' tryn
19. hd p'hmh 'hyd ldk'rw'n n'l b'rkywn d'n'wunyn' 'ds' nšyht'
20. w'h'rn' p'hmh nhw' lwth dtyrw zbw'n' (Hand C) mwdn' 'wrls h'psy
21. br šmšyhb 'dysy' mn pyl's dtr't'šr' dktbt hlp 'wrl'y'
22. mtr't' 'ntty bršm' dspr' l' h'km' dzbnt 'mt' hd' dyl'h
23. wqblt dmyh 'yk dkt'yb mn l'l
24. (Hand D) mrqws 'wrls br k'lb šhd
25. (Hand E) mrqws 'wrls br p?? šhd

⁷⁷ W.F.G., p. 145.

⁸ *ZfS*, X, 163.

⁹ Arangio-Ruiz and Furlani, *Neg.*, p. 433, n. 1;

E. Y. Kutscher, *Tarbiz*, XIX (1947-1948), 54, n. 8;

C. Rabin in Pringsheim, p. 462, n. 4. Nevertheless, Brockelmann's reading was not adopted in W.F.G.

¹⁰ Goldstein, pp. 431-32.

26. (Hand F) *bršm' dmbħr' lštryn*
 27. (Hand G) *Αὐρ(ήλιος) Μάννος ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ*
 28. *τοῦ πολιευτικοῦ μ(α)ρ(τυρῶ)*
 29. (Hand B) *mrqws 'wrlwys blšw br*
 30. *mqymw spr' ktbt štr' hn'*
 31. (Seal bearing image of Gordian III)

VERSΟ

1. (Hand H [= Hand B?]) *'wrlw' mtr't' brt šmny mzbnnyt' l npšh šhd'*
 2. (Hand C) *'wrls ħpsy br šmšyhb ħtmt l štr' hn'*
 3. (Hand I) *'wrls 'bgr štr'g' šhd' 'Αβγαρος*
 4. (Hand J) *'bgr br brsmiy' šhd'*
 5. (Hand H) *'wrlw' mtr't' brt šmny mzbnnyt' l npšh šhd'*

NOTES TO THE TRANSCRIPTION OF THE TEXT

i-ii. The numerals are of the type common in ancient Hebrew and Aramaic documents and inscriptions; they tally with the numbers written out in the lower text. "31" is written as "20 + 10 + 1." Probably as an adaptation to a cursive script, the figure "20," known from Elephantine, Palmyra, Nabataea, and Wadi Murabba'at, is here turned on its side; cf. B.M.V., p. 98, fig. 27. All the other figure forms in the upper text appear in the earliest dated Syriac inscriptions.¹¹

In the first occurrence of *zbn* the cursive hand leaves the *b* almost unrecognizable. The letters which follow *zbn* are clear and can hardly be anything but the abbreviated Roman praenomen and nomen of the seller.

mtr't', the Aramaic cognomen of the seller, appears six times in the document (here, and at lines 7, 14, and 22 of the lower text, and then twice in the very clear signatures on the verso). Torrey read it as *mtb't'* and treated it as a common noun, "the defendant," but such a common noun would follow the patronymic *brt šmny*. The third letter never appears joined to the letter which follows it and cannot be a *b*. The name is Mat-Tar'atha = Amath-Tar'atha = "handmaid of Atargatis." This type of name is well-attested in Syria, and so are the omission of the initial *'* (cf. the slave's name in line ii) and the assimilation of the final *t* of *Amath*.¹²

br b's'. In both upper and lower texts, the fourth letter of Tiro's father's name is *'* rather than *l*. The name occurs in inscriptions¹³ and, transliterated (Barbaessamen, Barbaesomen), in documents from Dura.¹⁴

¹¹ André Maricq, "La plus ancienne inscription syriaque: celle de Birecik," *Syria*, XXXIX (1962), 88-100; H. Pognon, *Inscriptions sémitiques de la Syrie, de la Mésopotamie, et de la région de Mossoul* (Paris, 1907), No. 2 and Plate XIV; J. B. Segal, "Some Syriac Inscriptions of the 2nd-3rd Century A.D.," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, XVI (1954), 13-36. See also M. Lidzbarski, *Handbuch der Nordsemitischen Epigraphik*, I, 198-202, and Tafel XLVI.

¹² Cumont, "Atargatis," *RE*, II (1896), 1896. Names formed with "Amath-": A. Caquot, "Sur l'onomastique religieuse de Palmyre," *Syria*, XXXIX (1962), 239. Loss of initial *'*: Nöldeke, sec. 32; cf.

Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie 1409, 1411 (Amath-Babea), 680, 4-5 (Math-Babea). Assimilation of final letter of "Amath-": Ed. Sachau, "Edessenische Inschriften," *ZDMG*, XXXVI (1882), 145-47 (*māmš* along with Greek transcription *Ἀμασσομασς*).

¹³ Caquot, "Nouvelles inscriptions araméennes de Hatra," *Syria*, XXIX (1952), 117, n. 1, and pp. 89-105, Nos. 23-25; XXX (1953), 235, No. 29; Enno Littmann, *Semitic Inscriptions* (New York, 1904), p. 86, Nabataean inscription No. 1. Segal, "New Syriac Inscriptions from Edessa," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, XXII (1959), 38-39.

¹⁴ W.F.G., index, p. 430.

mt syn. On the omission of the initial ^ʔ, see above on *mtr^t*.

On the symbol *r* for "denarius," see B.M.V., pp. 90–91.

3. *ḏhrwryḥ*: *ḏhrwr^ʔ* W.F.G. At the end of this word the writing runs into a notch in the edge of the parchment. What is there bears no resemblance to an ^ʔ but is easily read as *y* and the right-hand stroke of *h*.

4. *bkmrwṭ*: *b^cmrwṭ* W.F.G. In later Syriac the words for "priest" and "priesthood" are always written *plene*, but the defective spelling *kmr^ʔ* occurs in inscriptions from Hatra.¹⁵ Difficulties of the earlier reading: Welles, *YCS*, V, 128–30, and W.F.G., p. 147, n. 15.

6. *ʔq^ʔ*: *kmr* W.F.G. The word is probably the divine element of the name of Abgar bar Hafsai's grandfather, Bar-ʔ, son of the god X. In this scribe's hand the middle letter is surely *q*, not *m*. The first letter may be *b*, *y*, *l*, or *n*; the last, *d*, *w*, *z*, *y*, *l*, ^c, or *r*. The non-divine name *bqr* appears in Safaitic and Thamudic, Ryckmans, II, 55.

7. *mwdyn^ʔ*: *mbdq^ʔ* W.F.G. The second letter is not joined to the one following and cannot be a *b*, and the *q* would be unlike any in this scribe's hand; finally, there is no support for Torrey's rendition of the reading as "of the aforesaid month."

ʔwrly^ʔ: *ʔwdly^ʔ* W.F.G. (misprint).

8. *šmnbrz*. I am not sure of the fourth and fifth letters since I do not know a suitable etymology for the name.

ḏjrt^ʔ *ʔdysyt^ʔ*: *mzbnnyt^ʔ* *mskl^ʔ* W.F.G. The first word is badly written. Torrey's reading is a guess from the context and from the signatures on the verso; it ignores the clear ^ʔ at the beginning of the second word, and the *m* of *mskl^ʔ* would be unique in the document. Moreover, in Hebrew and Aramaic documentary style the verb of saying precedes the declarer's name and is always *ʔmr*. Analogy with other documents and with the name of the buyer here requires that the seller's place of origin (or citizenship) and place of residence be given here. Cf. *P. Dura 29*, *Mur. 19*, etc.

br b^cšmn: *brblšmn* W.F.G. See on line i, *br b^cš^ʔ*.

10. *hkn*: *hkyn* W.F.G. The form *hkyn* is unknown in Syriac. The *y* was misread from the extended stroke leading to the *n* (cf. the *n* at the end of line 8).

12. *lmzbnw*: *lmdbrw* W.F.G. The next to last letter is joined to the *w* and cannot be *r*. The reading becomes certain when the passage is compared with other Aramaic *kyrieia* clauses; see commentary.

13. *ḥšbn*: *ḥšyn* W.F.G. Parallels make Brockelmann's reading certain. See commentary. Ingholt and Torrey may have rejected it because of the defective spelling, but see on line 4; the defective spelling is found in Enno Littmann, *Semitic Inscriptions*, p. 15, No. 6, line 4.

14. *ʔqwm*: *ʔqdm* W.F.G. Again the correct reading is proved by the parallels.

w^cqymyh: *w^cqymh* W.F.G.: *w^cqymnh* Goldstein. Only the first reading fits both the letters on the parchment and Syriac grammar.

15. *bmly*: *bmny* W.F.G. The idiom, translated by Torrey "in any way whatsoever," would be strange in Syriac, whereas the reading adopted yields the well-attested *hpk bmlt^ʔ*, "break one's word," "retract."

wzbnth: *zbnth* W.F.G. The careless stroke joined to the *z* is probably a *w*.

16. *ʔʔ^ʔ* *ʔmʔʔ^ʔ* *ʔʔ^ʔ* *ʔnmws*: *kd^ʔ* *ʔkyn^ʔ* *ḥd^ʔ* *nmws* W.F.G. The letters on the parchment are

¹⁵ Caquot, *Syria*, XXIX, 89–105, Nos. 5, 25, 27; XXXII, 55, No. 51.

ambiguous or blurred, and I have not been able to find a satisfactory reading. Torrey translated, "while I establish a certain law," but this is very implausible language for a legal document. How would a private citizen "establish" a law? Brockelmann's suggestion, "indem ich den einen gesetzlichen Termin von jetzt bis zu sechs vollen Monaten festsetze," makes sense but cannot be derived from the reading; see commentary.

The first two letters are blurred beyond recognition in the photographs. The ³ seems certain; the *m* could also be a badly written *b* or *k*—cf. *wzbnth* in line 15; the next letter is not joined to what follows it and can be *d*, *z*, *r*, or final *y* or *n*. Next comes a faint long stroke sloping downward from left to right; if it is not a stray mark, it is a final *n*. After a space come the strokes read by Torrey as *h*; however, the writing does not appear to be joined to what follows and can be read as two letters, the first being *b*, *y*, *k*, *l*, *n*, or ^c, and the second, *w* or perhaps *d* or *r*. Then comes a clear *d* or *r*, and then the word which Torrey probably was correct in reading as *nmws*. Passages in the Syriac-Roman laws lend support to this reading. Nevertheless, the *n* is badly formed and does not quite join the following letter; the *m* bears on its upper right a mark which disguises it; and the *w* is run into the *s* (cf. the *ws* of the scribe's signature, line 29).

17. *d³n*: *w³n* W.F.G. See commentary.

19. *phmh*: *phm* W.F.G. The word is faint and badly written both here and in line 20.

ldkrwn. The writing here is faint and ambiguous. Torrey's reading can be made out from the photographs but is suspect. It ignores the mark sloping down from left to right after ³*hyd*, thus leaving an abnormally large space between words. Furthermore, the noun "record" known from Syriac and Babylonian Aramaic is rather *d(w)krn³* (*dukhra³nā*), though the form read by Torrey is known in Biblical Aramaic (Ezra 6:2), the Christian Aramaic of Palestine, and modern Syriac; see H. L. Ginsberg, *Koheleth* (Tel Aviv-Jerusalem: M. Newman, 1961), p. 28 (in Hebrew). The traces on the parchment can also be read *lshdw*, "as testimony," but then the faint stroke sloping down from left to right after the *w* must be ignored, and again an abnormally large space is left between words.

20. *phmh*: *prwmywn* (?) W.F.G. See on line 19 and W.F.G., pp. 144, 148.

21. ³*dysy³*: ³*dsy³* W.F.G. (misprint).

22. *hkm³*: *hpm³* W.F.G. (misprint).

24. *kib shd*: *blbšrbl* W.F.G. The reading *shd* is certain. In Aramaic documents either the singular *shd* stands by the signature of each witness or the plural *shdy³* introduces them all (note, however, the Nabataean practice described by Yadin, *IEJ*, XII, 238, and the practice of some Jews of Jerusalem, *M. Gittin* 9:8). The letters of *kib* are all ambiguous, and one would expect the *status emphaticus*; indeed, the name *br kib³* (Barchalbas) is well attested at Edessa and Dura (Welles, *YCS*, V, 126, n. 21; W.F.G., index, p. 430). Arabic names are common at Edessa and do lack the ³ of the *status emphaticus* but usually have a final *w*. See Caquot, *Tessères*, p. 156; Ryckmans, I, 114.

25. *p?? shd*: *pnwdgl* W.F.G. See on line 24. With a list of names used in Osrhoene, one may well find a convincing reading. For the two doubtful letters, I would guess *t* (note the form in the upper text) and *r*. The extremely cursive *h* of *shd* either has its right stroke reduced and crowded up against the *s* or its left loop crowded up against the *d*.

Verso, 3. "Αβγαρος: "Αβγαρ δ στρ. W.F.G. Neither photograph shows the final tau and rho. The name is probably the witness' Greek signature, which he wrote after signing in Syriac. His pen was running dry as he wrote *shd*, but he went on in Greek without dipping it again.

Verso, 5. *l npšh: lnpšh*. There is a faint stroke to the right of the *l* which is surely an ink-mark. If it is read as ^c, verso, line 5, agrees with verso, line 1, and conforms to the common formula of the conceding party's signature in Aramaic documents.¹⁶

TRANSLATION

UPPER TEXT

¹In Iyyar of 31, a sale. Marcia Aurelia Mat-Tar^catha, daughter of Shamnai, has sold to Tiro, son of Bar-Ba^cesha, ^{1a}a female slave, Math-Sin, for 700 denarii, 28 years old.

LOWER TEXT

¹In the sixth year of Emperor Caesar Marcus Antonius Gordianus Pius Felix ²Augustus; in the consulship of Annius Arrianus and Cervonius Papius; in the month Iyyar of the year ³554 of the former reckoning; and in the year 31 of the freedom of ⁴Antoniniana Edessa, the glorious, Colonia Metropolis Aurelia Alexandria; in the priesthood of ⁵Marcus Aurelius Antiochus, eques Romanus, son of Belshu; and in the term as strategoi of Marcus ⁶Aurelius Abgar, eques Romanus, son of Ma^cnu, grandson of Agga, and of Abgar, son of Hafsai, grandson of Bar-⁷q?, ⁷for the second time, on the ninth day (of the month).

I, Marcia Aurelia Mat-Tar^catha, daughter of ⁸Shamenbaraz, granddaughter of Abgar, resident (?), Edessene, declare to Lucas Aurelis Tiro, son of Bar-Ba^ceshamen ⁹of Carrhae, that I have received from him 700 denarii and have sold to him Amath-Sin, my female slave, ¹⁰whose age is 28 years, more or less, purchased from her captors, under the following terms:

¹¹That from this day forth and forever, you, Tiro, the buyer, and your heirs shall have power over this slave ¹²that I have sold you, to take possession, to sell, and to do with her whatever you wish; and if anyone shall bring suit or ¹³conspire against Tiro, the buyer, or against his heirs concerning this slave that I have sold him, ¹⁴I, Mat-Tar^catha, the seller, and my heirs shall rise and defend and clean and clear (her with respect to her title) and place her ¹⁵in Tiro the buyer's possession. And I shall have no power to revoke the terms of this document. And I have sold ¹⁶you this slave . . . law of from now until six full months have passed. ¹⁷And an agreement was made between them as follows: if this slave shall run away from today ¹⁸onward, it shall be at the risk of Tiro, the buyer.

Two documents of this sale have been written; ¹⁹one copy of it, retained as a record, is to be entered in the archives of Antoniniana Edessa, the glorious, ²⁰and the other copy of it is to be for Tiro, the buyer.

I, Aurelis Hafsai, ²¹son of Shamashyabh, Edessene of the Twelfth tribe, declare that I have written on behalf of Aurelia ²²Mat-Tar^catha, my wife, in the subscription, because she is illiterate, that she has sold this slave of hers ²³and received the price thereof as written above.

²⁴Marcus Aurelis Bar-Klebh (?), witness.

²⁵Marcus Aurelis Bar-^p?, witness.

²⁶With the signature of the inspector of documents:

¹⁶ Milik II and III; *Mur.* 18, 19, 21, 24, 28-30; Yadin, *IEJ*, XII, 237.

- ²⁷I, Aurelius Mannus, superintendent of the sacred and ²⁸civic archives, bear witness.
²⁹I, Marcus Aurelius Belshu, son of ³⁰Moqimu, the scribe, have written this document.
³⁰(Seal of Gordian III)

VERSO

- ¹Aurelia Mat-Tar'atha, daughter of Shamnai, the seller, testifies for herself.
²I, Aurelis Hafsai, son of Shamashyabh, have signed this document.
³Aurelis Abgar, the strategos, witness; Abgar.
⁴Abgar, son of Bar-Samya, witness.
⁵Aurelia Mat-Tar'atha, daughter of Shamnai, the seller, testifies for herself.

SYNOPSIS OF GRAMMAR AND ORTHOGRAPHY

The one grammatical error in the upper text is probably the slip of a hasty pen. With the exception of line 10, where the scribe may have misplaced a word, the grammar of all the readable portions of the lower text is good. The names of both consuls have been misspelled, and one "ni" has fallen out of "Antoniniana"—the name, however, may have been so pronounced in Edessa. Otherwise, the scribe apparently took care to spell names in the manner preferred by their bearers: the Roman consuls, the eponymous local officials, and the scribe's own signature have the purist "-ius," whereas the husband's signature and subscription, the witnesses' signatures, and the buyer have the vulgar "-(i)s." The spelling of "witness" (*šhd*) is a stereotype, but the use of *š* in the word "twelfth" in line 21 is remarkable, and so is the consistently defective spelling of short "u" in native Syriac words.

COMMENTARY

UPPER TEXT

Lines i-ii. The decipherment of these two lines shows *P. Dura 28* to be, as expected, a double document with an inner text reduced to a brief abstract. Double documents with such inner texts are known from Ptolemaic Egypt,¹⁷ from third-century Dura,¹⁸ and from the documents of the second century discovered in the "Cave of the Letters" in the Judean desert of Israel.¹⁹

In these documents, upper texts tend to be written in a more cursive script than the lower texts, and often by a different hand.²⁰ The upper text of *P. Dura 28* with its neat but rapid cursive (note especially the forms for *ʾ* and *t*) is so different from the lower text as to suggest another hand, possibly that of Aurelius Mannus, superintendent of the sacred and civic archives (lines 27-28), for in Ptolemaic Egypt such texts were added to double documents by registry officials.²¹ Unlike the lower text, the upper text is

¹⁷ F. Bilabel, "Zur Doppelausfertigung ägyptischer Urkunden," *Aegyptus*, V (1924), 168-72; VI (1925), 94-96, 100-104.

¹⁸ *P. Dura 26, 29, 30, 32*.

¹⁹ See above, n. 6. Upper texts reduced to abstracts may be alluded to at *T. Baba Batra* 11:1, p. 413, lines 4-5 Zuckerman (names of the principals, description of the purchase, the amount paid, the date) and by R. Idi quoting R. Jeremiah at *TP*,

Baba Batra, p. 17c (names of the principals, names of the witnesses, date). On the inclusion of the witnesses' names, see Gulak, pp. 15-24. In neither case, however, is it clear that the upper text is briefer than the lower.

²⁰ *P. Dura 29-32* (cf. 24 and 25); Bilabel, *Aegyptus*, V, 170-72; cf. Yadin, *IEJ*, XII, 236.

²¹ Bilabel, *loc. cit.*

expressed in the third person, as would befit an official's summary of the contents. In summarizing, the writer of the upper text seems generally to have followed the order of the lower. In the date he retained only the Babylonian month and the year of the local era, by his omissions incidentally leaving the date in the normal Semitic order, with the month named before the year (see commentary to lines 1-7). The figure "20" in the age of the slave is very different from that used to form the "20 + 10 + 1" of the date, and the ² of Iyyar occurs only there in the upper text and is used several times in the lower. I prefer to view these as the normal inconsistencies of a cursive hand, rather than as evidence that two hands wrote the upper text.

In abbreviating, the writer of the upper text omitted the words *yrh* (month) and *šnt* (year). *yrh* is frequently omitted in documents (e.g., Cowley, Nos. 5-10 and the contracts from Wadi Murabba'at). I know no parallel, however, for the omission of *šnt*. The use of figures in the upper text and words in the lower to express numbers is common in double documents; the practice probably served the same function as it does in modern checks.²²

zbn. The designation of the transaction (sale), according to Payne Smith, col. 1076, properly means *emptio*, not *venditio*, but cf. Pringsheim's remarks on *šné* and *prasis*, pp. 111-26.

On the praenomen and nomen of the seller, see Welles, *YCS*, V, 140, n. 80; on her Aramaic cognomen, above, notes to transcription. On the worship of Tar'atha-Atargatis at Edessa, Duval, *Journal Asiatique*, 1891, pp. 230-32; at Carrhae, Martin, "Discours de Jacques de Saroug sur la chute des idoles," *ZDMG*, XXIX (1876), 110, 131-32.

The second occurrence of *zbn* is ungrammatical. As the verb, "sold," it should be feminine (*zbnt*). The error may have arisen from the first occurrence, the noun *zbn*.

The upper text reduces the patronymics of seller and buyer to hypocoristics;²³ so do the seller's signatures, Verso, lines 1 and 5. For some reason, the writer of the upper text found it necessary to give the Roman names of only the conceding party; on the buyer's names, see below on line 8. On the slave's name, see W.F.G., p. 143; on the omission of the ², above, notes to transcription.

LOWER TEXT

I. THE DATING FORMULA

Lines 1-7. The elaborate formula begins with the year of the emperor's *imperium*. Under Roman rule, down to the time of Diocletian, the peoples of Egypt, Palestine, Syria, and Arabia continued their practice of dating by the regnal years of the monarch ruling over them, a practice followed by only some of the other subject peoples of the Empire.²⁴ Of the texts dating by both the regnal year and the consuls, *Mur. 115* and probably other documents from Jewish Palestine²⁵ agree with *P. Dura 28* in placing

²² *P. Dura 26*; *Mur. 21, 22, 29, 30*; Bilabel, *Aegyptus*, VI, 104; cf. V, 171, and VI, 94-96.

²³ On such hypocoristics, see Caquot, *Tessères*, pp. 154-57.

²⁴ Egypt: Mitteis, p. 88; Palestine: *Mur. 18* and *118*; Nabataea: Document 6, Yadin, *IEJ*, XII, 241; Syria: *P. Dura 25, 31*; and cf. Luke 3:1 and the dating prescripts of the *Doctrine of Addaeus the Apostle* and the *Acts of Sharbil*. The indices to

Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes, Vols. I and III, show dating by years of the emperors only in Bithynia and Pontus, Cyprus, Egypt, Palestine, Syria, and Arabia. The Mishnah requires bills of divorce to be dated by the year of the emperor (*Gittin* 8:5; see the commentary of Albeck [Jerusalem, 1954], pp. 297, 405; cf. *Mur. 18* and *TP, Gittin* 8:5, p. 49c).

²⁵ Such is the implication of *M. Gittin* 8:5.

the regnal year first. In the rest of the surviving documents, the consuls appear first. The otherwise careful scribe of *P. Dura 28* has misspelled the names of both consuls.

Other features of the dating formula are entirely unsemitic. The order in dates of Hebrew and Aramaic documents and in the medieval Hebrew formularies is day, month, year.²⁶ In a Greek date, the prevailing order is year, month, day,²⁷ which is the order here, except that the local designations of the year have been inserted between the month and the day.

The era of the colony of Edessa is described as that of its "freedom," probably its freedom from its own local dynasty. Cf. Bellinger, *YCS*, V, 152; E. Bickerman, *Chronologie* (Leipzig, 1963), p. 46. To Bellinger's chronological studies of the era of the colony in *YCS*, V, add André Maricq, "Hatra de Sanatrouq," *Syria*, XXXII (1955), 278, n. 3. On the titles of Edessa, see Bellinger, *op. cit.*, 143, n. 4.

4-5. Dating by eponymous priests was a common practice in the ancient world; at Dura there were four.²⁸ *P. Dura 28* shows that there was only one at Edessa, though the Christian Syriac *Acts of Sharbil* date the fifteenth year of Trajan by two eponymous priests²⁹ and the Syriac *Doctrine of Addaeus the Apostle* speaks of two high priests of Edessa.³⁰ The Christian writers simply refused to leave the eponymous priesthood to a pagan alone and included the Christian bishop. In the *Acts of Sharbil* Barsamya is the name of the second eponymous priest and of the Christian bishop,³¹ and Sharbil alone is called the chief priest.³² Later Syriac martyrdoms replace the eponymous priest by only one name, that of the bishop.³³ Only one of the two chief priests mentioned in the *Doctrine of Addaeus* need have been eponymous.

5-7. The strategoi evidently became the annual chief magistrates of the city after the Romans ended the dynasty of Edessa.³⁴ In accordance with the parallels in Greek and Roman inscriptions, "for the second time" refers only to Abgar, son of Ḥafṣai. The names Abgar and Ma'nu (*Mávnos*) were favorites of the dynasty of Edessa, and Ḥafṣai occurs in aristocratic families there. The name Belshu, which is also the native cognomen of the scribe (line 29), is Akkadian, shortened from Ša-Bel-šu, "He is Bel's"; the cult of Bel at Edessa is well attested.³⁵ As one would expect, the native aristocracy and perhaps even the royal family remained prominent in the Roman colony of Edessa.

II. THE SELLER'S DECLARATIONS OF RECEIPT OF THE PRICE AND SALE OF THE SLAVE

Lines 7-10. The seller's declaration begins abruptly with the word "I declare," *ὁμολογῶ*, without any verb of saying in the third person. In the terms used by papyrologists, this document is a "subjective homology." To my knowledge there is no parallel to this aspect of *P. Dura 28* among surviving ancient witnessed documents. The formula of Hay, however, presents something of a parallel. In Jewish practice documents were formulated as the statement of the witnesses testifying to what they have seen and

²⁶ R. Yaron, "The Schema of the Aramaic Legal Documents," *JSS*, II (1957), 33-34, 61; so, too, in the documents from the Judean desert and in the formula at *T. Baba Batra* 11:2, p. 413, lines 5-8.

²⁷ See, e.g., W. Larfeld, *Griechische Epigraphik*, 3rd ed. (München, 1913), pp. 334-38.

²⁸ *P. Dura 25* and 37.

²⁹ Syriac p. 41, line 18.

³⁰ Syriac p. 14, lines 5-6 Cureton.

³¹ Syriac p. 42, line 17.

³² Syriac p. 42, lines 7-8.

³³ See Welles, *YCS*, V, 131, n. 44.

³⁴ Welles, *YCS*, V, 131-32.

³⁵ Names of aristocrats: Jules Leroy, "Nouvelles découvertes archéologiques relatives à Edesse," *Syria*, XXXVIII (1961), 160-62; Belshu: K. L. Tallquist, *Assyrian Personal Names* (Helsingfors, 1914), p. 62; Bel at Edessa: Duval, *Journal Asiatique*, 1891, pp. 228-29.

heard,³⁶ and hence the verb of saying in the third person must appear, but thereafter the document continues *q' mwdyn'*, "I declare. . ."

P. Dura 28 is the earliest extant Semitic bill of sale in the form of a homology; however, the Mishnah takes the existence of such bills for granted,³⁷ and the bills of conveyance in the formulary of Hay are all homologies. In Greek bills of sale from Egypt, this form first appears in the first century B.C.³⁸ and under Roman rule becomes the sole form for bills of sale.³⁹

On the buyer's names and patronymic, see above, notes to transcription and synopsis of grammar and orthography, and Welles, *YCS*, V, 140, n. 80.

Another peculiarity sets *P. Dura 28*, along with the medieval Jewish formularies and the Greek Parchment 2 from Avroman,⁴⁰ apart from almost⁴¹ all other known ancient bills of sale in Greek, Hebrew, Aramaic, cuneiform, and demotic: the declaration of receipt of the price precedes the declaration of sale.⁴² Since the medieval Jewish formularies follow the practice of the Jewish academies in Babylonia, perhaps here is a significant difference between legal practice in the Roman world and among the Greek and Semitic subjects of the Parthian and Sassanian Empires. The problem deserves further study.

10. There are difficulties in the syntax of this line. Torrey translated the first word as "a purchase," meaning that the slave was bought, not home-born. The word then is a feminine noun in the *status absolutus*, a possible construction, particularly in an early text.⁴³ However, neither in the few extant ancient slave sales nor in the medieval formularies is there any parallel for so describing the slave; on the contrary, one would expect note to be taken only if the slave was home-born.⁴⁴

There may be a helpful parallel in the declarations of sale in the medieval Jewish formularies. In them, at the corresponding point of the clause, appears the word *zbyny* (sale), as a cognate accusative, but there the word is needed as a noun for the adjectives describing the sale as final and irrevocable. Here a cognate accusative would seem to serve no purpose.

Difficult, too, is the presence of the word *thw'*. It can hardly be construed with *zbyn'* as an expression of the buyer's taking possession, "Bought let her be!" The grammar and word order would be odd,⁴⁵ the formula unparalleled⁴⁶ and out of place in a statement of the name and specifications of the slave. Hence, the word presumably is to be construed with what follows. But in normal Syriac, the imperfect of "to be" is not a simple copula but has a modal force, such as "let her be . . ."; that would be a strange way to state the slave's age, especially that of a handmaid past the bloom of youth. *Neg. 135*, a slave-sale from Ascalon showing considerable Semitism in its language and formulation, alone among Greek documents introduces the age of the slave with the

³⁶ See Gulak, pp. 15-24, and cf. the formula of the cuneiform *lišanšu* documents, Koschaker, pp. 21-23. Early cuneiform documents in subjective style: Muffs, pp. 35, 274-77.

³⁷ Gulak, pp. 2-6. Avroman 1 and 2 are homologies.

³⁸ Pringsheim, p. 124, n. 2.

³⁹ Pringsheim, pp. 109-11, 124.

⁴⁰ Not, however, Avroman 3; Avroman 1 has no verb of sale or conveyance in the declaration—rather, the sum of money received is called the price of the vineyard.

⁴¹ A parallel exists in the Alexandrian *synchorensis* documents (Mitteis, pp. 182-83). However, they represent an entirely different procedure and documentary style; e.g., the amount of the price is not mentioned in the declaration of receipt.

⁴² Cf. Welles, *YCS*, V, 101, n. 39.

⁴³ Nöldeke, sec. 202.

⁴⁴ Welles, *YCS*, V, 103, n. 48.

⁴⁵ See Nöldeke, sec. 300.

⁴⁶ But cf. the Middle Assyrian sale formula, Koschaker, pp. 28-30.

participle *onta*. But the participle of *Neg. 135* is good Greek; the imperfect here is odd Syriac, though the scribe otherwise seems well-trained.

One must always hesitate to emend a legal document, especially one written by an evidently experienced scribe. Nevertheless, parchment was expensive, and an erasure might have invalidated the document. Hesitantly, therefore, as the basis for my translation, I suggest that the scribe wrote *zbyn*⁴⁷ too soon; in order to set off the declaration of the slave's age as a sort of parenthesis, he inserted the verb *thw*⁴⁸. If so, *zbyn*⁴⁹ is to be construed with *mn šby*⁵⁰ and as a predicate adjective in the *status absolutus*. Literally translated, line 10 becomes, "She was purchased (she is 28 years old, more or less) from her captors." It is, indeed, usual for a bill of sale to mention how the seller acquired the property, and on the basis of parallels in other documents,⁴⁷ one would expect this to be expressed by something more than a prepositional phrase.⁴⁸

The phrase "more or less" occurs in demotic and Semitic documents as early as Old Babylonian deeds and is found also in Greek papyri. By it, the sale is agreed to be final regardless of whether estimated measurements are too large or too small.⁴⁹

*šby*⁵⁰ can be vocalized in two ways, as the abstract and collective *šebhyā* (captivity) or as the plural *šabbāyē* (captors). The latter is suggested by the parallels in other documents of sale, which name the previous owner, not the previous status of the slave or other property, and also by the language of a hymn to the Virgin Mary by Jacob of Sarug.⁵⁰

To my knowledge, no other Aramaic document introduces the clauses following the declaration of sale and receipt with a formula like "under the following terms." The wording here probably is translated from a Greek model.⁵¹

III. THE KYRIEIA CLAUSE

This formula occurs in documents from the Judean desert⁵² and in the medieval formularies and, as a unit, can be traced back as far as the Aramaic papyri from Elephantine;⁵³ elements of it can be found in Mesopotamian, Ugaritic, and Egyptian documents of the second millennium B.C.⁵⁴ In Greek documents the earliest instance known to me is Avroman 1 (88 B.C.); in Greek bills of sale from Egypt the clause first appears in the second Christian century.⁵⁵ Like the defension clause (lines 12–15), the *kyrieia* clause over the centuries increases in verbosity down to the prolix heaps of synonyms in the formulary of Hay. The verbosity comes as subtle traders find the word *šlyt* by itself too vague to express the nuances of ownership,⁵⁶ and later as the words used to supplement it change their meanings—for the conservatism of documentary style retains all the obsolete expressions while adding the new ones.⁵⁷ Hence, if the low

⁴⁷ *P. Dura* 25, lines 24–25; 26, line 9; K. 12, lines 4, 12; Avroman 1, A, lines 11–12, and B, lines 12–13.

⁴⁸ But note the prepositional phrase in line 18.

⁴⁹ San Nicolò, pp. 208–209; *M. Baba Batra* 7:2—see Gulak, p. 99. The words are found in Milik II, as corrected by B.M.V., p. 147, note to line 14; *Mur.* 22 and 30.

⁵⁰ J. B. Abbeloos, *De Vita et scriptis S. Jacobi Batnarum Sarugi in Mesopotamia Episcopi* (diss. Louvain, 1867), p. 256, line 13: *blym² rbtm zbnm hwbk mn šby²*, where the final word bears the dots of the plural.

⁵¹ Cf. Avroman 1, line 15 (*ēp' q̄*).

⁵² Milik II; Nabataean Document 2, Yadin, *IEJ*, XII, 241; cf. *Mur.* 30, lines 22–23.

⁵³ Rabinowitz, pp. 124–41; Yaron, "Aramaic Deeds of Conveyance," *Biblica*, XLI (1960), 248–50, 256–61.

⁵⁴ Kutscher, *JAOS*, LXXIV, 239; Yaron, *Biblica*, XLI, 386–87; "Aramaic Marriage Contracts from Elephantine," *JSS*, III (1958), 31–32.

⁵⁵ Mitteis, pp. 182–83.

⁵⁶ Cf. Yaron, *Biblica*, XLI, 257.

⁵⁷ Cf. Kutscher, *Tarbiz*, XIX, 127–28; Yaron, *Bib. Or.*, XV (1958), 15–22.

number of verbs defining ownership is a criterion, K. 3, K. 12, Milik II, *Mur.* 30, *P. Dura* 28, and Avroman 1 are more primitive in formulation than the other Greek papyri.⁵⁸

IV. THE GUARANTEES

Lines 12–18. The seller (a) guarantees to defend title to the slave against challenge by a third party, (b) renounces all means of revoking the sale, and (c) grants the buyer a period of six months within which he may receive satisfaction should the slave be somehow unsatisfactory—the exact nature of the circumstances and the satisfaction is obscure because of the illegibility of the document. This combination in contiguous clauses following the *kyrieia*, clause, of guarantee to defend, renunciation, and assurance of satisfaction for defects, recurs in the formularies of *Mahzor Vitry* and Bargeloni⁵⁹ but in no other ancient document known to me.⁶⁰ The guarantees of *P. Dura* 28 stand with those of the medieval Jewish formularies also in lacking a penalty clause for non-fulfilment.

The juxtaposition of defension and renunciation clauses is logical and has parallels in bills of sale from many areas of the ancient world.⁶¹ Also logical is the juxtaposition of the seller's renunciation of the means of revocation and a clause allowing the buyer a period of grace: the seller is denied the right to revoke the sale, the buyer is conditionally granted it.

IVa. THE DEFENSION CLAUSE

Lines 12–15. For the history and the philological analysis of this clause, see Kutscher, *Tarbiz*, XIX, 53–59, 125–28; Yaron, *Bib. Or.*, XV, 15–22; Rabinowitz, pp. 142–52; Goldstein, pp. 431–32; Muffs, p. 171.

13. *ʿw nthgʿ*. The translation in W.F.G. follows Torrey, “or talk against.” The Syriac word, however, does not mean simply “talk” but “conspire.” The word may have been added to the clause because “bring suit” (*ndwn*) was felt to imply a suit with some legal basis, whereas “conspire” would imply a suit based on false or forged evidence. In any case, the added word is another instance of the piling up of synonyms in documentary formulas. Compare the inflated defension clause of Bargeloni's formulary, “*dykwum wytʿwn wyhgh wyštʿy wyʿrʿr šwm dyn wdbrym bʿwlm ʿl plwny zh. . .*”

15. *bgdh*. Though the reading is beyond doubt, the idiom, literally, “in [or subject to] the fortune of,” is strange, whereas the medieval Jewish formularies have the common idiom “in the hand of,” suggesting the easy emendation *bʿydh*. Nevertheless, again it is well to beware of emending a document written by a good scribe. The strange idiom

⁵⁸ Note, however, the elaborate *kyrieia* and defension clauses in Nabataean documents mentioned by Yadin, *IEJ*, XII, 241, 249.

⁵⁹ In the order *kyrieia*, defects, renunciation, defension. In *Mahzor Vitry* and Bargeloni the renunciation clause begins with the statement that the seller has retained no share in the slave. In Hay, first comes a statement that the seller has retained no share and that the buyer has received full possession, and then the *kyrieia*, defects, and defension clauses.

⁶⁰ Old Babylonian and Assyrian slave-sales have no *kyrieia* clause, but do have a renunciation clause

followed by a statement that the seller stands surety for designated periods against epilepsy and against contest of title (Koschaker, p. 31; San Nicolò, chap. 2 and pp. 209–23). The clause of standing surety is not found in late cuneiform slave sales, which lack all reference to hidden defects (Petschow, p. 63). In Greek papyri from Egypt, the guarantee against leprosy and epilepsy is included in the declaration of sale, not in a separate clause. *Neg.* 135 contains no renunciation clause.

⁶¹ Assyrian and Old Babylonian slave-sales: see n. 60; other examples: Petschow, p. 44; K. 1 and K. 3. See Yaron, *Biblica*, XLI, 261–68, 387–89.

may be attested in a story in the Palestinian Talmud.⁶² A fire broke out (on the Sabbath) on the property of R. Jonah (fourth century); he refused to let his Nabataean⁶³ neighbor put it out, whereupon the Nabataean held him responsible for damages should the fire spread, using the formula *bgdk mdly*, "My property is subject to your fortune." The formula "in the fortune of so-and-so" may have had the connotation both of "in his charge" and "in his possession"; cf. *mn qdh* in line 18, and the use of *bršut* in rabbinic Hebrew.

IVb. THE RENUNCIATION CLAUSE

Line 15. This clause is not impersonally phrased but is a declaration of the seller that he has no power to revoke the conditions of the document.⁶⁴ Since it does not close the provisions of the sale, the formula here is not analogous to the Greek closing formula, *kyria hē syngraphē*.⁶⁵

IVc. THE DEFECTS CLAUSES

Lines 15–18. Partly unread, the first of these clauses is recognizable because of its close affinities to the vocabulary of the Syriac-Roman lawbooks.⁶⁶ Syriac legal terminology as reflected here seems to have taken note of the logical connection of the renunciation clause with the defects clause. In the Syriac-Roman laws, the agreement (*tnwy*) between the buyer and the seller in a slave-sale may be either "good" or "bad" (for the buyer),⁶⁷ and the "bad" agreement is defined as one in which one party may not retract against the other (*dl ʔnš nhpuk l hbrh*).⁶⁸ with the use of the same root *hpk* (revoke, retract).

The parallel passages in the Syriac-Roman laws declare the seller of a slave liable for hidden defects for a period of six months, though in a "bad" agreement only for insanity. The first clause here probably indicates the extent of the seller's liability during the six months.⁶⁹ I would guess that here all conditions of a "good" agreement apply, except for liability for flight—the exception being made by common agreement (lines 17–18). With Torrey's reading in line 17, *wʔn*, the resultant clause, "And such was the agreement between them," serves no visible purpose.⁷⁰ Hence, read *dʔn*. Pringsheim⁷¹ viewed the clause placing the risk of the slave's flight upon the buyer as a "risk clause," a category

⁶² *Shabbat* 16:7, p. 15d; *Yoma* 8:5, p. 45b; *Nedarim* 4:9, p. 38d. I owe this reference to Professor Saul Lieberman.

⁶³ At *Nedarim*, *loc. cit.*, a Samaritan neighbor.

⁶⁴ Cf. Brockelmann, *ZfS*, X, 163. In *Mahzor Vitry* and Bargeloni, the renunciation clause speaks of the irrevocability of the *sale*, not of the document.

⁶⁵ Cf. Welles, *YCS*, V, 110. One Aramaic equivalent for the Greek formula occurs in K. 9 (line 22—read *mysb*) and K. 10; another was known to both Talmuds; see Rabinowitz, pp. 112–24, and Gulak, pp. 24–30. The latter occurs in *Mahzor Vitry* and Bargeloni.

⁶⁶ L 39, 113; P 19, 20, 35; R I 19, 20, 28; R II 27, 28, 40, 41; R III 39, 114.

⁶⁷ Equivalent to the Greek *καλή* or *κακή αἵρεσις* and the Latin *venditio bonis conditionibus* or *venditio simpliciter*; see Pringsheim, pp. 481–92. These distinctions and the Greek terminology are attested in a

Semitic text of about the same time as *P. Dura* 28, *Exodus rabbah*, 43:8, ascribed to R. Levi b. Parṭa (third century). Read with Oxford ms. No. 147 *q'ltwysyn* and *q'q'rysyn* (this confirmation of Perles' and Krauss' emendation of the printed text I owe to Professor Saul Lieberman): "... A man ... came to buy a slave. He said to the owner, 'Is this slave you are selling me a good acquisition [*q'ltwysyn*, *καλή αἵρεσις*] or a bad acquisition [*q'q'rysyn*, *κακή αἵρεσις*]. ...'"

⁶⁸ L 39; R II 28.

⁶⁹ Cf. *Neg. 135*. See also Welles, *YCS*, V, 105–107.

⁷⁰ It cannot be analogous to the *kyria* clause of Greek papyri because another operative clause follows (see above, n. 65), nor does it record the procedure of a Roman *stipulatio* (W.F.G., p. 16; cf. Welles, *YCS*, V, 110–11).

⁷¹ Pp. 456–65; cf. San Nicolò, pp. 223–27.

he sharply distinguished from defects clauses. The distinction is logical,⁷² but the Syrian-Roman laws do treat the tendency to flee as a hidden defect, though as one for which the seller is obligated to refund the price only under certain circumstances.⁷³

18. *mn gdh dtyrw zbw*⁷⁴. This predicate phrase without a copula is grammatical but somewhat awkward. Perhaps the scribe omitted *hw* because of the *w* of *w³tkbtw*.

V. THE STATEMENT OF NUMBER OF COPIES AND REGISTRY

Lines 18–20. See Welles, *YCS*, V, 111–12.

19. *n³l b³rkywn*. In Mishnaic Hebrew, a similar phrase, *‘lh b³rk³wt*, is used of the registration of documents in official archives.⁷⁴ The use of the Hebrew root *‘lh* surely reflects the Aramaic. On the archives of Edessa, see Welles, *YCS*, V, 126–27, 135–37.⁷⁵

VI. THE SUBSCRIPTION

Lines 20–23. On the subscription (*hypographé*) in Greek papyri from Egypt, see Mitteis, p. 56. In *P. Dura* 28, as in *P. Dura* 26, 27, and 29, and in a notarial practice described in the Palestinian Talmud,⁷⁶ the subscription serves as a closing formula to prevent anything from being added to the clauses of the document. Hence, no space is left between it and the operative part of the text.⁷⁷ On the name Shamashyabh, see Caquot, *Syria*, XXXIX, 245.

VII. THE SIGNATURES

Lines 24–30 and Verso. The normal procedure, described by the Mishnah and found in the documents of the Judean desert and in *P. Dura* 26, 30, and 32, was for single documents to be signed on the recto only and double documents on the verso only, but the existence of “conflated”⁷⁸ procedures such as the one followed here is recognized by the Mishnah and described in the Palestinian Talmud.⁷⁹

In both line 24 and line 25, the Semitic name which follows “Marcus Aurelius” is surely the native cognomen, not the patronymic; here and elsewhere in the *Dura* documents, names of Roman citizens may appear without the patronymic but never without the cognomen.⁸⁰ The first two signers identify themselves simply as witnesses. Hence, one cannot place them in the same category as the archivist Aurelius Mannus and explain the attesting signatures on the recto of *P. Dura* 28 as being all those of archivists (cf. *P. Dura* 17 and 25).

The scribe’s identifying signature is a feature common in neo-Babylonian, demotic, and Aramaic documents. On its position here after the attesting signatures on the recto, see Yaron, *JSS*, II, 38–39, and Petschow, pp. 7–8, 44, 70. The vocalization of the scribe’s

⁷² The formula does have a separate history; most ancient systems of law, including Jewish law, place the risk of the slave’s flight solely on the buyer; see also Welles, *YCS*, V, 108–109.

⁷³ E.g., R I 19.

⁷⁴ *M. Giffin* 1:5; *T. ibid.* 1:4; *T. Mo‘ed qatan* 2:1; *T. Baba batra* 8:2–3; *T. ‘Abodah zarah* 1:8; *TB Giffin*, pp. 9ab, 10b–11a, 44a; *TP, ibid.*, 1:5, p. 43d.

⁷⁵ Remove the reference to a “*Strategos-Bahora*” on p. 137.

⁷⁶ *TP Giffin* 10:1, p. 49d; see Gulak, pp. 29–30. The procedure of *P. Dura* 26–29 sets aside Gulak’s hesitations on p. 30.

⁷⁷ See W.F.G., Plate XX, and delete “*vacat*” in the transcription of *P. Dura* 26, lines 28–29.

⁷⁸ W.F.G., p. 145.

⁷⁹ *M. Baba batra* 10:1; *TP Giffin* 8:10, p. 49d.

⁸⁰ *P. Dura* 26, 29–32.

patronymic is assured by the numerous Greek and Latin transcriptions of the name in the Dura documents. On the name itself, see Caquot, *Tessères*, p. 175; its occurrence at Edessa, Leroy, *Syria*, XXXIV, 322.

On the verso of a double document the common practice of the Semitic East placed the signature of the conceding party or his literate substitute first and then the signatures of the several witnesses, each signature adjacent to a knot of the tying string,⁸¹ but *P. Dura* 28 exhibits some strange aspects. The "signature" of the illiterate Mat-Tar'atha appears before that of her husband, her literate substitute, and again as the last of the signatures on the verso. Practices mentioned in rabbinic literature give a key to understanding these phenomena.

At Edessa, four or five attesting signatures may have been sufficient, but in the "conflated" procedure of *P. Dura* 28, only two witnesses signed on the verso, along with Mat-Tar'atha and her husband. The documentary sheet, however, had five holes for the five knots of the tying string. From the Mishnah and the Tosefta we learn that a double document which did not bear a signature by every one of its knots was called a "bald" document and was invalid.⁸² One did not, however, have to procure the signatures of legally eligible witnesses to fill the blank spaces. According to some authorities, even the signature of a slave would do.⁸³ This is the function of Mat-Tar'atha's second signature.

As for her illiteracy, it is possible that, though illiterate, she could sign her name. If so, it is odd that her letter forms are inconsistent in her two signatures (note especially the ' of *mtr'ṭ*); one would expect an illiterate to know only one way of signing her name. But the letter forms in the two signatures are all found in the script of the scribe Marcus Aurelius Belshu, with one significant difference: very few of the letters are joined. Children and illiterates find it easier to copy manuscript "printing" than cursive "writing." Rabbinic sources mention several procedures by which an illiterate can write a signature: a stencil can be cut in another piece of paper and the illiterate can ink the document through it; the illiterate can trace over scratches or markings in lead, gall-nut juice, or spittle on the document itself.⁸⁴ In the case of *P. Dura* 28, none of these methods seems to have been used. With a stencil, both signatures would have been very much alike; in tracing, Mat-Tar'atha probably would not have become confused twice by the sequence *ṭ np*, whereas in line 1 she has omitted the *n*, which has been squeezed in, and in line 5 she seems to have been diffident writing the ' . My guess is that the scribe wrote out an example for each line, and Mat-Tar'atha copied them.

The first witness to sign on the verso is one of the two chief magistrates of Edessa. In documents from Dura, too, the first attesting signature is that of a chief magistrate.⁸⁵ His signature may have been required for full validity of the document. As in the documents from Dura, the name of an official appears with his title and without his patronymic.

The name Bar-Samya occurs among the aristocracy of Edessa in the *Doctrine of Addaeus the Apostle* and is the name of the Christian bishop in the *Acts* of Sharbil and of Barsamya. On other instances of the name and on the vexed question of the vocalization and etymology, see H. Ingholt, *Parthian Sculptures from Hatra* ("Memoirs of the

⁸¹ Milik II; *Mur.* 18-20, 28-30, 36, 38; Yadin, *IEJ*, XII, 237.

⁸² *T. Gifftin* 8(6):9; *M. Gifftin* 8:9.

⁸³ *M. Gifftin* 8:10; *TB, ibid.*, pp. 21b-82a.

⁸⁴ *TB Gifftin*, pp. 19a-b.

⁸⁵ *P. Dura* 17, 25.

Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences," Vol. XII [New Haven, 1954]), pp. 17 ff., esp. p. 21; and Caquot, "Note sur le *semeion* et les inscriptions araméennes de Hatra," *Syria*, XXXII (1955), 59-69.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

The abbreviated titles used in this article are the following. *Acts* of Sharbil and Barsamya: see Cureton. Avroman: E. H. Minns, "Parchments of the Parthian Period from Avroman," *JHS*, XXXV (1915), 28-30. Bargeloni: *Sepher Haschetaroth: Dokumentenbuch von R. Jehuda ben Barsilai aus Barcelona*, ed. S. J. Halberstam (Berlin, 1898; bill of slave-sale: p. 69). *Bib. Or.: Bibliotheca Orientalis*. B.M.V.: P. Benoit, J. T. Milik, and R. de Vaux, *Discoveries in the Judean Desert, II: Les grottes de Murabâ'ât* (Oxford, 1961). Cowley: A. E. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.* (Oxford, 1923). Cureton: *Ancient Syriac Documents*, ed. W. Cureton (London, 1864). Demotic Documents: K. Sethe and J. Partsch (eds.), *Demotische Urkunden* ("Abhandlungen der philologisch-historischen Klasse der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften," Vol. XXXII [1920]). *Doctrine of Addaeus the Apostle*: in Cureton (incomplete) and *The Doctrine of Addai the Apostle*, ed. G. Phillips (London, 1876). Goldstein: J. A. Goldstein, Review of W.F.G., *JAOS*, LXXXI (1961), 429-32. Gulak: A. Gulak, *Das Urkundenwesen Talmud* (Jerusalem, 1935). Hay: *Sefer ha-shetarot le-Rab Hay bar Sherira Gaon*, ed. S. Asaf, *Tarbiz*, Suppl. I (5690), *IEJ: Israel Exploration Journal*. *JAOS: Journal of the American Oriental Society*. *JSS: Journal of Semitic Studies*. K.: documents in E. G. Kraeling, *The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri* (New Haven, 1953). Koschaker: P. Koschaker, *Neue keilschriftliche Rechtsurkunden aus der el-Amarna Zeit* ("Abhandlungen der philologisch-historischen Klasse der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften," Vol. XXXIX [1928]). M.: *Mishnah*, ed. H. Albeck (Jerusalem and Tel-Aviv, 1952-1959). *Maḥzor Vitry: Maḥzor Vitry*, ed. S. Hurwitz (Berlin, 1893; bill of slave-sale: pp. 792-93). Milik: J. T. Milik, "Deux documents inédits du désert de Juda," *Biblica*, XXXVIII (1957). Mitteis: L. Mitteis and U. Wilcken, *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde* (Leipzig-Berlin, 1912), Vol. II, Part I. Muffs: J. Y. Muffs, *Studies in the Aramaic Legal Papyri from Elephantine* (Diss. Pennsylvania; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1964), to be published by Brill in *Studia et documenta ad iura orientis antiqui pertinentes*. Mur.: documents in B.M.V. Neg.: documents in V. Arangio-Ruiz, *Negotia*, Part III of *Fontes iuris romani antejustiniani*, ed. S. Riccobono et al. (Florence, 1943). Nöldeke: T. Nöldeke, *Compendious Syriac Grammar* (London, 1904). Payne Smith: R. Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*. Petschow: H. Petschow, *Die neubabylonischen Kaufformulare* ("Leipziger rechtswissenschaftliche Studien," Vol. CXVIII [1939]). Pringsheim: F. Pringsheim, *The Greek Law of Sale* (Weimar, 1950). Rabinowitz: J. J. Rabinowitz, *Jewish Law* (New York, 1956). San Nicolò: M. San Nicolò, *Die Schlussklauseln der altbabylonischen Kauf- und Tauschverträge* ("Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antike Rechtsgeschichte," Vol. IV [1922]). Syriac-Roman Lawbooks: *Syrisch-Römisches Rechtsbuch*, ed. K. G. Bruns and E. Sachau (Leipzig, 1880), and *Syrische Rechtsbücher*, ed. E. Sachau (Berlin, 1907). T.: *Tosefta*, ed. M. S. Zuckermann (2d ed.; Jerusalem, 1937). TB: *Babylonian Talmud*. TP: *Palestinian Talmud*. Tessères: H. Ingholt, H. Seyrig, J. Starcky, and A. Caquot, *Recueil des tessères de Palmyre* (Paris, 1955). W.F.G.: C. B. Welles, R. O. Fink, and J. F. Gilliam, *The Excavations at Dura-Europos: Final Report V, Part I, The Parchments and Papyri* (New Haven, 1959). YCS: *Yale Classical Studies*. ZDMG: *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*. ZfS: *Zeitschrift für Semitistik und verwandte Gebiete*.

A PECULIAR REPRESENTATION OF THE JACKAL-GOD ANUBIS*

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THE sculpture described in this article was presented to me in 1936 by Mrs. A. Chester Beatty, the wife of the well known financier and art collector, herself greatly interested in ancient art. Two features of the sculpture stood out. One was the exceptional size of the figure, by far the largest of all bronze figures of Anubis I had previously encountered in the collections of various museums, including the very rich collection of the Cairo Museum. The other, even more striking to the eye, was the shape of the animal's tail: whereas in the traditional representations of Anubis, so well exemplified by the Tutankhamun specimen, the tail of the animal is usually long and *always straight*, in the newly encountered figure the tail was not only of normal size but also *naturally curved*—a characteristic I had never seen previously. Because of these peculiarities of the sculpture, I christened it at the time "Anubis X," and in the following pages I will often refer to it by this designation in order to avoid the repetition of cumbersome descriptions.

I

The bronze (Pls. I, II, and III) is 22.5 cm. long, 10.2 cm. high and 3.2 cm. wide (across the widest portion of the torso). The front paws are 6.25 cm. long, the hind paws 4.3 cm. The tail, which is curved in its lower half, is 5.6 cm. long. The weight of the figure is 1,331 grams.

On the underside of the bronze there are two hollows (Pl. III *B*). One, of elliptical form, is 6.8 cm. long, with the largest width of the opening measuring 1.2 cm. in its middle portion and gradually tapering off from there toward both ends. The maximum depth of the hollow in its middle section measures 1.7 cm. The total height of the animal's torso in that section is 3.4 cm. The thickness of the roof is, thus, 1.7 cm. The maximum width of the hollow measures 2.3 cm., which leaves on each side a thickness of the wall of 0.9 cm. to 1 cm. At the very opening of the hollow, the wall is only 0.2 cm. thick. The second hollow is nearly semispherical in shape. The diameter of the irregularly

*I wish to express my appreciation to several students of ancient Egyptian art, whose courtesy and co-operation have considerably facilitated my task in carrying out the present study. My first thanks go to Dr. John D. Cooney, the eminent American Egyptologist and scholar, who not only thoroughly examined the "Anubis X" sculpture but also had it treated in the Brooklyn Museum's laboratory for protection against "bronze disease." I am indebted to Dr. Cooney's distinguished former associate, now Curator of the Egyptian Department of the Brooklyn Museum, Dr. Bernard V. Bothmer, who, together with Dr. Cooney, examined the sculpture and who presented

me with the photographs of two interesting figures of the jackal-god contained in the collection of the Museum. I am obliged to Dr. William J. Young for his comprehensive exploration of the figure, including a spectrographic analysis of the bronze in the X-ray beam, and to Dr. Zaky Iskander, who carried out a detailed comparison of its shape with that of all sculptures of the jackal-god contained in the collection of the Cairo Museum. I express my thanks to the curators and other officials of the institutions cited in this article for the pertinent information or photographic material they made available to me.

circular opening measures 2.4 cm. in width and 1.8 cm. in length. The concavity is shallow, the distance from the plane of the opening to the roof measuring 1.2 cm.

There are, on the ventral surface of the figure, two dowels manifestly intended to be passed through corresponding holes in the lid of a box or a shrine (Pl. III B). One dowel is located in front of the longitudinal, the other in front of the smaller, circular hollow. They measure 3.75 cm. in length. The rear dowel is 1.2 cm. wide, the front dowel only 0.7 cm.

It is apparent that the figure was cast hollow by the *cire-perdue* process, with the core lying free on the ventral surface and directly connected with the outer mold, which stabilized the latter and prevented any movement of its wall during the process of casting. Assuring stability of the outer mold was all the more important in the present case since the space between the core and the outer mold was very large. The amount of metal to be poured in was consequently considerable, and the pressure exerted by it on the walls of the mold very great. The portions of the mold which inclosed the dowels on the wax model apparently were used by the craftsman for pouring in the molten metal.

The green patina of malachite covers many areas on the surface of the figure and is most prevalent on the head, around the ears, on the hind portions of the body, and, in particular, around the tail. The general color of the bronze is reddish brown.¹ On close inspection of the sculpture, a considerable number of details can be distinguished. The powerful muscles of the upper arms and legs are very well, but not excessively, marked (Pls. I, II, and III). The line marking the opening of the mouth is distinct (Pls. I and II). On the ears one sees the engraved lines running across their inner surface (Pl. II). On the front paws one distinguishes the four well-developed toes (Pls. II and III). On the hind paws, because of their fusion with the metal of the body, only three of the fully developed toes are manifest. The separation of the muscles of the thigh and the upper leg is well marked (Pl. I).

On the surface of the torso the impressions marking the animal's hair are clearly visible (Pl. IV). The lines produced by these impressions are soft, and one may therefore assume that they had been preformed on the wax model. One also recognizes the finishing touches which the craftsman, after the casting, gave to the metal surface with a chisel and file at the sites of the air vents (Pl. V A).

One detail in the appearance of the figure very eloquently testifies to the method used for casting it. At the end of the tail there is a small, perfectly circular concavity, 0.7 cm. in diameter, with a diameter of the opening measuring 0.5 cm. (Pl. V B). The inner surface of this concavity displays the blue color of azurite. Manifestly, a bubble of air was trapped in this area in the process of casting, when the molten metal was being poured in, and prevented the latter from filling the space. It is also evident that the air bubble was trapped because of the curvature of the tail which the artist endeavored to produce.

II

It may be considered a basic rule that, in any encounter with an ancient art object, the first question to be raised is that of its genuineness. In the following pages are presented the, in this respect, pertinent data relating to the "Anubis X" figure.

¹ Before sending me the figure, Mrs. Chester Beatty had it cleaned.

I will set aside the many examinations, based on mere inspection, or on more or less superficial routine tests, of which the "Anubis X" figure was the subject during the three decades it has been in my collection. However qualified the individual specialists carrying out such tests, from an objective scientific viewpoint, the conclusions drawn from them must not necessarily be regarded as absolutely convincing. I will therefore restrict myself to citing the results of very thorough and methodical investigations carried out in recent years by two outstanding authorities in their respective fields—Dr. John D. Cooney, at the time Curator of Ancient Art of the Brooklyn Museum, and Dr. William J. Young, Director of the Research Laboratory of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.

The form in which the two investigators expressed their conclusions is not the same in both cases. Dr. Cooney formulated his views in several communications which he addressed to me after observing the bronze for a period of three weeks (from March 16 to April 8, 1962) in the Brooklyn Museum. I may point out that the chief objective of Dr. Cooney's intervention at the time was not to ascertain the genuineness of the figure—this he considered to be beyond doubt from a previous inspection—but the protection of the sculpture against "bronze disease," of which several small patches had been detected by him and his associate Dr. Bernard V. Bothmer on that inspection. However, in his communications, Dr. Cooney, besides references to the fine casting of the figure² and to its exceptional size,³ makes two statements which, although not referring directly to the question of genuineness, acquire great significance precisely with regard to this question. In a communication written shortly after the treatment of the sculpture, Dr. Cooney summarizes his conclusions as follows: "From our examination here it is evident that the sculpture was cleaned in recent times, perhaps thirty years ago,⁴ and on the whole the cleaning was well done. When we worked on it here, there were small patches of diseased parts but they have now been arrested and, if the bronze is kept dry, there is little probability that the disease will break out again. The earlier cleaning went down to the cuprite layer, which accounts for the red color of the bronze."²

Dr. Cooney's reference to the process of cleaning and to the fact that the latter went down to the cuprite layer, is significant in that only in a genuine ancient bronze is the layer of cuprite to be found under the malachite patina. This, I may note in passing, is why forgers of ancient bronze figures have often attempted to force an artificial patina upon the surface of their products. However, such forgery is easily recognized by microscopic examination and, especially, by an exploration of the bronze under ultraviolet rays. As will be seen from the report of Dr. Young, cited below, a very careful examination of the sculpture by both methods proved beyond doubt that the patina formed an integral part of the bronze. Thus, the normal transition from the layer of malachite to that of cuprite which had been laid bare by the process of cleaning and to which Dr. Cooney refers in his above-mentioned communication, represents an important proof of the authenticity of the figure.

No less, if no more, significant is Dr. Cooney's reference to the patches of "bronze disease," since only an ancient bronze, not a forged one, can display it. In a recent communication, Dr. Cooney stresses this point. Referring to his examination of the "Anubis X" figure, carried out in 1962 in the Brooklyn Museum, he says: "Indeed, as I

² Communication of Dr. Cooney, of May 22, 1962.

³ Communication of Dr. Cooney, of May 21, 1963.

⁴ Dr. Cooney's assumption that the cleaning "was carried out in recent times, perhaps thirty years ago,"

is a remarkably precise estimate, since, as mentioned at the beginning of this article, prior to sending me the figure, Mrs. Chester Beatty had it cleaned.

recall, we had to treat small areas for bronze disease and that in itself is conclusive evidence of antiquity."⁵

In 1963, Dr. William J. Young carried out a very detailed and multiform exploration of the figure, which, among others, included a spectrographic analysis of the bronze in the X-ray beam. At that time I had already the intention of publishing the results of my investigation concerning the "Anubis X" sculpture, and, in consequence, asked Dr. Young for a report specifying the nature and objective of each test performed. In this report are cited the results of four independent examinations carried out in the Research Laboratory of the Museum of Fine Arts.

(1) In one, the patina was examined microscopically and the corrosion film from different areas of the figure was investigated. "It was clearly observed that a malachite patina existed, under which copper oxide intermingled with some cuprite." The patina invariably proved to be "part of the bronze, with a good adherence to the surface. Under the microscope the patina had the characteristics of being brought about by natural burial conditions."

(2) In another examination, Dr. Young explored the figure under ultraviolet rays, using a Corex "A" filter. "Under the rays the object fluoresced a dark purple. Particular study was made of the tail to ascertain if a forced patina existed in this area. The patina reacted as an ancient one, with no indication of a modern patina present."

(3) After these two examinations, the figure was situated in the X-ray beam, and an X-ray spectrographic analysis made of the metal. The analysis indicated a high percentage of copper, moderate and nearly equal amounts of tin and lead (4-5 per cent and 6 per cent, respectively) and an insignificant amount of zinc (0.5 per cent).

(4) In a fourth examination, the figure was placed in front of the fluoroscope, and "the bronze was X-rayed, using 75 kilovolts. The tail was particularly studied to ascertain if a join was present. No indication of the fluoroscope of a join could be observed."

From his investigations, Dr. Young concluded that "the bronze in question is in all probability dated around the Twenty-second Dynasty."⁶

I will refrain here from discussing the question of dating bronze figures that do not bear any specific indication to that effect, such as an identifying inscription, etc., and to the grounds on which such dating is very often of necessity done, and will merely state that all the detailed examinations carried out well demonstrate the authenticity of the sculpture.

III

After the genuineness of the "Anubis X" figure had been ascertained, the question of the possible significance of the digression from the traditional pattern, seen in the shape of this figure, imposed itself. Before attempting to answer this question, it was necessary, by an investigation on a very large scale, to ascertain the degree of rarity of the above digression among the extant sculptures of Anubis. The result of such an investigation could have a bearing on the conclusions to be drawn. An appropriate

⁵ Communication of Dr. Cooney, of October 26, 1964.

⁶ Examination No. 63.58 (of April 17, 1963). Report of the Department of Restoration, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

inquiry was addressed to thirty-eight institutions comprising practically all important museums of the world. Out of these thirty-eight establishments, thirty-seven supplied the information requested. Here are the specific data secured.⁷

The Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, possesses two figures, both in wood. One (No. 1895.154) is 43 cm. long (from tip of nose to root of tail). The tail, running vertically downward, is 49 cm. long. The figure is from a coffin lid. The second figure (No. 1896-1908 E 3913) is 24.5 cm. long, with tail broken off. The figure is from a box lid.⁸

The British Museum possesses one wooden figure. The body of the animal is 13½ inches long, 12 inches high (from base to top of ears). The paws measure 7 inches. The tail is missing. It apparently was a separate unit and became detached, leaving no indication as to how it hung.⁹

The Brooklyn Museum has two wooden sculptures. One (No. 37.1478 E) is 50.5 cm. long and 24 cm. high. The straight tail, 41 cm. long, runs vertically downward.¹⁰ The other sculpture (No. 37.1482) is *ca.* 35 cm. long and 18.6 cm. high. The straight tail, 15.0 cm. long, is shown on the photograph separated from the body. However, as can be seen from the surface of separation, it must have run vertically downward.

The Cairo Museum possesses, beside the life-size Tutankhamun specimen, several smaller ones, but only very few in bronze. The largest of these is 17 cm. long and 11 cm. high.¹¹ In none of the sculptures of the jackal-god present in the Museum does the tail of the animal display the natural curved form, characteristic of the "Anubis X" representation.¹²

The Chicago Natural History Museum has two wooden sculptures. One (No. 111562) is 45.3 cm. long, 7.7 cm. wide, and 19.4 cm. high. The tail is broken off, but from the surface of separation it is apparent that it had run vertically downward. Another (No. 111561) is *ca.* 35 cm. long, 7 cm. wide, and 21.5 cm. high, with tail broken off, and no indication as to how it had run. The figures are dated to the Ptolemaic Period.¹³

The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, has one representation in wood, 45 cm. long (E.G.A. 4315, 1943). The tail runs straight downward at an angle of 10° from the vertical.¹⁴

The Fogg Art Museum of Harvard University possesses two wooden sculptures (No. 1943.1042 a-b), both 11½ inches long, with tails missing. They date from the Ptolemaic Period. I inspected these figures in 1963. From the surface of separation of the tails it was evident that they had hung straight downward. Apparently, the tails had been made separately and attached to the body of the animal, since the surface at the sites from which they had descended proved to be perfectly clean, and there were no broken edges.¹⁵

The Glyptothek Ny Carlsberg, Copenhagen, has two figures. One (AEIN 247) is in wood, 10 cm. high. The tail is missing, but the surface of separation does not leave any

⁷ The data are presented in the form in which they were supplied by the individual institutions.

⁸ Communication of Mr. R. W. Hamilton, Keeper, Department of Antiquities, of July 31, 1963.

⁹ Communication of Mr. I. E. S. Edwards, Keeper of the Department of Egyptian Antiquities, of November 11, 1963.

¹⁰ Communication of Miss J. Keith, Assistant to the Curator, Department of Ancient Art, of March 11, 1965.

¹¹ Communication of Dr. A. Shoukry, Director General of the Department of Antiquities of the U. A. R., of March 28, 1961.

¹² Communication of Dr. Zaky Iskander, Department of Antiquities, Cairo, of July 20, 1962.

¹³ I inspected these figures on my visit to the museum on January 15, 1965.

¹⁴ Communication of Mr. Richard Nicholls, Keeper of the Antiquities, of July 31, 1963.

¹⁵ Communication of Miss S. Loomis, Secretary to Professor Hanfmann, of June 28, 1963.

doubt that it had run vertically downward. The figure is dated "Late Period." The other (AEIN 621) is in bronze, 11 cm. high, 10.5 cm. long, with the tail running vertically downward.¹⁶

The Kestner Museum, Hannover, has two wooden sculptures. In one (No. 1935, 200, 662), 11.1 cm. long, 3.2 cm. wide, and 5 cm. high, the tail is missing. In the other (No. 4520), the very long straight tail runs horizontally backward.¹⁷ I inspected this figure, attributed to the Late Period, on my visit to the museum in August 1963. Its dimensions are as follows: Total length of figure, 77.5 cm.; length of front paws, 16.5 cm.; length of body, 29.0 cm.; length of tail, 32.0 cm.; height, 22.4 cm.¹⁸ From the size and position of the tail, I assumed that it had been affixed to the body. A recent verification by the Museum proved this assumption to be correct.¹⁹

The Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, has two figures (No. 4220 and No. 805). In both, the tail is missing.²⁰

The Louvre has three small bronze figurines and one larger wooden sculpture. In the former (E.5812, AF288, and E.4566), 10 cm., 8.5 cm., and 7.3 cm. long respectively,²¹ the tail runs vertically downward. In the wooden figure the tail is broken off.

The Museo Egizio, Turin, has two figures in wood. In both the tail is straight, running horizontally.²²

The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, possesses two sculptures. One (No. 72.4173) is in wood, with the tail missing. However, Dr. William Stevenson Smith, Curator of the Department of Egyptian Art, states that the tail must have hung down the side of the shrine on which the sculpture had been placed. The other figure (No. 11.721) consists of the head and hind quarters of a slate jackal from the Fourth Dynasty temple of Mycerinus at Giza.²³

The Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels, possess one wooden figure (No. E.7052), 12.5 cm. long, 3 cm. wide, and 5.5 cm. high. The tail is missing.²⁴

The Museum of the University of Pennsylvania has three wooden figures. In one (E.12620), 16½ inches long, 3¾ inches high, and 3⅝ inches wide, the head and tail are missing, but underneath the rear end of the animal's body there is a hole with a portion of a wooden peg, indicating that the tail was attached here to hang vertically downward. In another sculpture (43-12-4), 17 inches long, 9½ inches high, and 3 inches wide, a cutting at the base of the spine holds a piece of tail which may have extended backwards or downwards though the latter, as stated in the communication of the Museum, appears most likely. In the third figure (E.1948), 42 cm. long, and 7.5 cm. wide the tail, 35 cm. long, hangs straight down.²⁵

The National Collection of Fine Arts, Washington, D.C., possesses one figure (No. 419609). It is in wood 18½ inches long, 7 inches high, and 3¾ inches wide. It is dated to

¹⁶ Communication of Mr. Otto Koefoed-Petersen, Curator of the Egyptian Antiquities, of November 26, 1963.

¹⁷ Communication of Dr. Irmgard Woldering, Direktor, of August 1, 1963.

¹⁸ Communication of the Kestner Museum, of September 18, 1963.

¹⁹ Communication of Dr. I. Woldering, Direktor, of February 15, 1965.

²⁰ Communication of Dr. Egon Komorzynski, Director of the Egyptian-Oriental Collection, of August 12, 1963.

²¹ Communication of Mr. J. Vandier, Conservateur-en-Chef du Département des Antiquités Égyptiennes, of May 12, 1961.

²² Communication of Dr. S. Curto, Superintendent, of August 7, 1963.

²³ Communication of Dr. William Stevenson Smith, Curator of the Department of Egyptian Art, of June 25, 1963.

²⁴ Communication of Dr. Constant de Wit, of August 1, 1963.

²⁵ Communication of Mr. Kenneth D. Matthews, Jr., Director of Education, of July 31, 1963.

the Ptolemaic Period and had originally accompanied a mummy of that period (No. 126790) from Luxor. I inspected it on my visit to the Smithsonian Institution in 1962. The tail of the animal is missing, but, as can be clearly seen from the surface of separation, it had run vertically downward.²⁶

The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago has one wooden sculpture, 37 cm. long, with the tail missing. The figure dates from the Twenty-second Dynasty and was found in the tomb of Nakht-ef-mut at Thebes.²⁷

The Robert H. Lowie Museum of Anthropology, University of California, possesses one figure of the Anubis jackal in the classical recumbent posture (No. 5-175). It is in bronze, 9 cm. long and 5.5 cm. high. The tail hangs straight down, ending at base of figure.²⁸

The Roemer-Pelizaeus Museum, Hildesheim, has one wooden figure (No. 2124), 47 cm. long. The tail runs vertically downward.²⁹ The figure is dated "Late Period."

The Rosicrucian Egyptian Museum, San Jose, California, has three wooden figures. In two the tail is missing, in the third, a very small one, the straight tail runs horizontally.³⁰

The Royal Museum of Antiquities of the Netherlands, Leiden, has one wooden figure, 50.5 cm. long, with the tail running vertically downward, three wooden figures with the tails broken off, and one figurine (10.5 cm. long) in blue fayence, with the straight tail running horizontally.³¹

The Royal Ontario Museum, University of Toronto, has one sculpture (No. 909x35), carved in wood, with the tail running vertically downward. Length of figure (from fore-paw to posterior) is 21 cm., length of tail 14 cm.³²

The Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh, has four figures of the Anubis jackal in the classical recumbent posture. Three are in wood, of which one (1956.181) is 15½ inches long, 7¾ inches high, with tail broken off, another (1956.182) is 13¼ inches long and 6¾ inches high, with tail 11¾ inches long, running vertically downward, and a third (1891.109) is 6¾ inches long and 2¾ inches high, with tail 1½ inches long, running straight backward. The fourth figurine (1911.359) is a bronze finial 3¼ inches long and 2½ inches high, with broken tail running vertically downward.³³

The Staatliche Museen, Berlin, not having as yet full access to their Egyptian collection, have been able to supply information regarding only one figure. It is made of wood and is 61 cm. long. The tail runs vertically downward.³⁴

The University of California, Department of Near Eastern Languages, Berkeley, has a predynastic slate jackal, over a foot long. It is flat, carved on both sides, and, according to Dr. William Stevenson Smith, may be one of the earliest images of a deity in animal form, possibly one of the jackal-gods related to Anubis as protector of the dead. It displays the characteristic features of early primitive art.³⁵

²⁶ The figure was shown to me by Dr. Gus W. Van Beek, Associate Curator, Division of Archaeology.

²⁷ Communication of Mrs. Michael Kindred, Secretary, of June 13, 1963.

²⁸ Communication of Mr. Frank A. Norick, Museum Anthropologist, of May 21, 1965.

²⁹ Communication of Dr. H. Kayser, Director, of August 12, 1963.

³⁰ Communication of Mr. James C. French, Curator, of June 20, 1963.

³¹ Communication of Professor A. Klasens, Director, of August 3, 1963.

³² Communication of Miss S. Dabous, Near Eastern Department, of August 8, 1963.

³³ Communications of Mr. Cyril Aldred, Keeper of the Department of Art and Archaeology, of March 30 and of April 16, 1965.

³⁴ Communication of Dr. Joachim Karig, of August 9, 1963.

³⁵ Communication of Dr. Klaus Baer, Assistant Professor of Egyptology, of June 28, 1963.

The Victoriamuseum for Egyptian Fornasaker, Upsala, has four wooden sculptures, catalogued as parts of coffins. In one (B.86), 48 cm. long, the straight tail runs backward. In the three others (B.87, B.88, and B.338)—16 cm., 9.5 cm., and 20 cm. long—the tails are missing.³⁶

The National Archaeological Museum, Athens, has been able only to ascertain the presence, in its Egyptian collection, of six to seven statuettes of the jackal-god, some in bronze, others in wood, but it has not been in a position to furnish more specific information on individual specimens, because the collection is still closed.³⁷

In the Egyptian collections of several European and American museums, no representation of the watchdog Anubis was found. This was the case of the Swiss National Museum, Zurich,³⁸ the Museum Rietberg, Zurich,³⁹ the Historical Museum, Bern,⁴⁰ the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva,⁴¹ the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, Edinburgh,⁴² the Hessisches Landesmuseum, Darmstadt,⁴³ and, in this country, of the Baltimore Museum of Art,⁴⁴ the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore,⁴⁵ the Cleveland Museum of Art,⁴⁶ and the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.⁴⁷

One may summarize the result of the investigation as follows: Out of the thirty-seven institutions which have responded to my inquiry, twenty-eight happened to possess sculptures of the jackal-god in the classical recumbent posture, and have furnished more or less specific information relating to them. Very precise data have been obtained from twenty-six museums, each of which possesses one or several representations of the Anubis jackal. Their total amounts to fifty-one figures. In thirty-four specimens, the tail of the animal has been preserved and has proved to be straight, in conformity with the orthodox pattern. In the remaining seventeen figures, the tail is missing, without indication as to how it had originally run. It should be noted that the numerous figures described above are made of different materials—wood, bronze, slate, or limestone—that they have been found in different regions, and are dated to different periods of ancient Egypt's history. Yet, the unnatural shape of the tail is peculiar to all of them.

The investigation carried out has thus shown the conspicuous digression from the orthodox pattern, seen in the "Anubis X" figure, to be unique among the extant sculptures of the jackal-god. One could, of course, assume that a number of similar representations had existed in the past but perished. However, a significant fact, ascertained by the investigation, speaks strongly against this assumption. As is well known, the figure of Anubis is very frequently found painted on the lids and side-walls of stone sarcophagi, wooden coffins, and other objects pertaining to the funerary equipment, such as canopic chests, mummy wrappings, etc. The museums of various countries possess such objects

³⁶ Communication of Mr. Bengt Birkstam, of August 7, 1963.

³⁷ Communication of Mrs. M. Savatianon, of August 28, 1963.

³⁸ Communication of the Secretary of the Museum, of July 31, 1963.

³⁹ Communication of Miss Els Simmen, Secretary, of August 23, 1963.

⁴⁰ Communication of Professor K. H. Henking, of August 31, 1963.

⁴¹ Communication of the Keeper of the Museum, of July 31, 1963.

⁴² Communication of the Keeper of the Museum, of July 31, 1963.

⁴³ Communication of Dr. A. Buttner, of August 21, 1963.

⁴⁴ Communication of Miss Diana F. Matzkin, Assistant to the Chief Curator, of June 19, 1963.

⁴⁵ Communication of Miss Dorothy K. Hill, Curator of the Egyptian Department, of June 18, 1963.

⁴⁶ Communication of Mrs. Margaret Drummond, Oriental and Classical Departments, of June 13, 1963.

⁴⁷ Communication of Professor Richard Ettinghausen, Head Curator, Near Eastern Art, of June 19, 1963.

in large numbers, especially coffins and their separate fragments (lids, sidewalls). The great majority of these bear one or more figures of the Anubis jackal painted on them. If the "Anubis X" type of representation had existed for any notable length of time within the millennia-long history of ancient Egypt, one could expect such representation to be reflected in some of the figures of the jackal-god painted on coffins. This, however, has proved not to be the case.

It is interesting that the figure of the war-god Wepwawet, who only in some regions and only occasionally was fused with Anubis, can be encountered painted on coffins. I may cite, as an example, the figure of the standing jackal-like dog, characteristic of Wepwawet, painted, in place of Anubis, on an anthropoid coffin I have inspected in the Brooklyn Museum (No. 34.1223).⁴⁸

On the other hand, the "Anubis X"-like representation is never found among the figures of the jackal-god, so frequently painted on the above-mentioned objects of funerary equipment, especially on coffins. One can hardly assume that not only the sculptures of the "Anubis X" pattern have disappeared in the course of time but that also all sarcophagi, wooden coffins, canopic chests and other funerary objects, which bore the *unorthodox* representation of the jackal-god, have likewise disappeared and only those have survived which had the *orthodox* form of the Anubis jackal painted on them.

One may thus justifiably infer that the "Anubis X" pattern of representation could hardly have existed for any notable length of time and that it was rather the product of a short-lived episode in the long history of ancient Egypt's religious art.

It would be impossible, from the above-outlined data, to draw conclusions regarding the specific era and cultural setting in which the "Anubis X" sculpture came into being. I will merely call attention to several facts which must be borne in mind when an attempt is made to formulate such conclusions.

The Anubis jackal is the only sacred animal of ancient Egypt, the orthodox representation of which contradicts the appearance of the animal as it is encountered in nature. All other sacred animals—the cat, the falcon, the ibis, the baboon, the sacred bull, and others—are invariably depicted with quasi-perfect naturalness.

It is interesting that Howard Carter, when inspecting the figure of the jackal-god found in Tutankhamun's tomb, was particularly impressed by its unnaturalness, notably, by the *unnatural shape of the animal's tail*. Carter recalls having seen, while in Egypt, several animals that closely resembled the Anubis figure, except for one characteristic—the *shape of the tail*. About one of them he even affirms that "*with the exception of its tail, it appeared to be the very counterpart of the form found in this room*" (meant is the room behind the Burial Chamber, designated by Carter as the "Treasury of the Innermost").

Startled by the discrepancy observed, Carter has recourse to several "conjectures of various degrees of possibility" in an attempt to explain it. Among others he points out that "Characteristics of the Anubis beast, are often very noticeable among a black species of the native Egyptian dogs, but, like all the Egyptian pariahs, they have a curled tail, coiled tightly over the rump and *never straight* and drooping like that of the Anubis jackal-like dog." Unable to find a satisfactory explanation for the unnatural shape of

⁴⁸ Coffin of Lady Gat-Seshen, who lived at the time of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty and was the descendant of a royal family of the Twenty-first Dynasty. The

coffin, found at Luxor, is described in the *Brooklyn Museum Quarterly*, January 1937.

the Anubis jackal, Carter even considers "the possibility of its being an imaginary beast."⁴⁹

If the unnaturalness in the shape of the animal's tail in the orthodox representations of Anubis may be considered a startling phenomenon, as Carter believes it to be, the fact that this unnaturalness, so foreign to ancient Egyptian art, passed unaltered through millennia, appears even more striking. And certainly no less spectacular is the fact that, when a change in the representation of a sacred animal did occur, such change affected solely the image of Anubis—the only one that had been depicted unnaturally.

The above facts tend to indicate that the conspicuous digression from the orthodox pattern, seen in the "Anubis X" sculpture, can hardly be viewed as a casual variant of artistic expression but represents rather a deliberate, purposeful act on the part of the artist. Further study may shed more light on the possible meaning of this act.

⁴⁹ Howard Carter, *The Tomb of Tut. Ankh. Amen*, III (London, 1933), 41 ff. Underscored by the author.

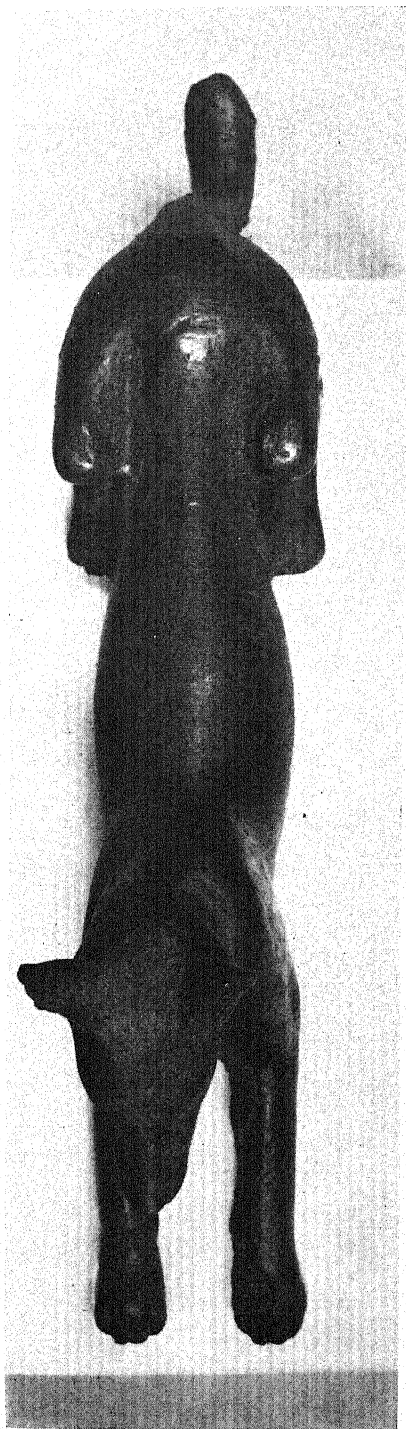


"ANUBIS X." Side View

PLATE II



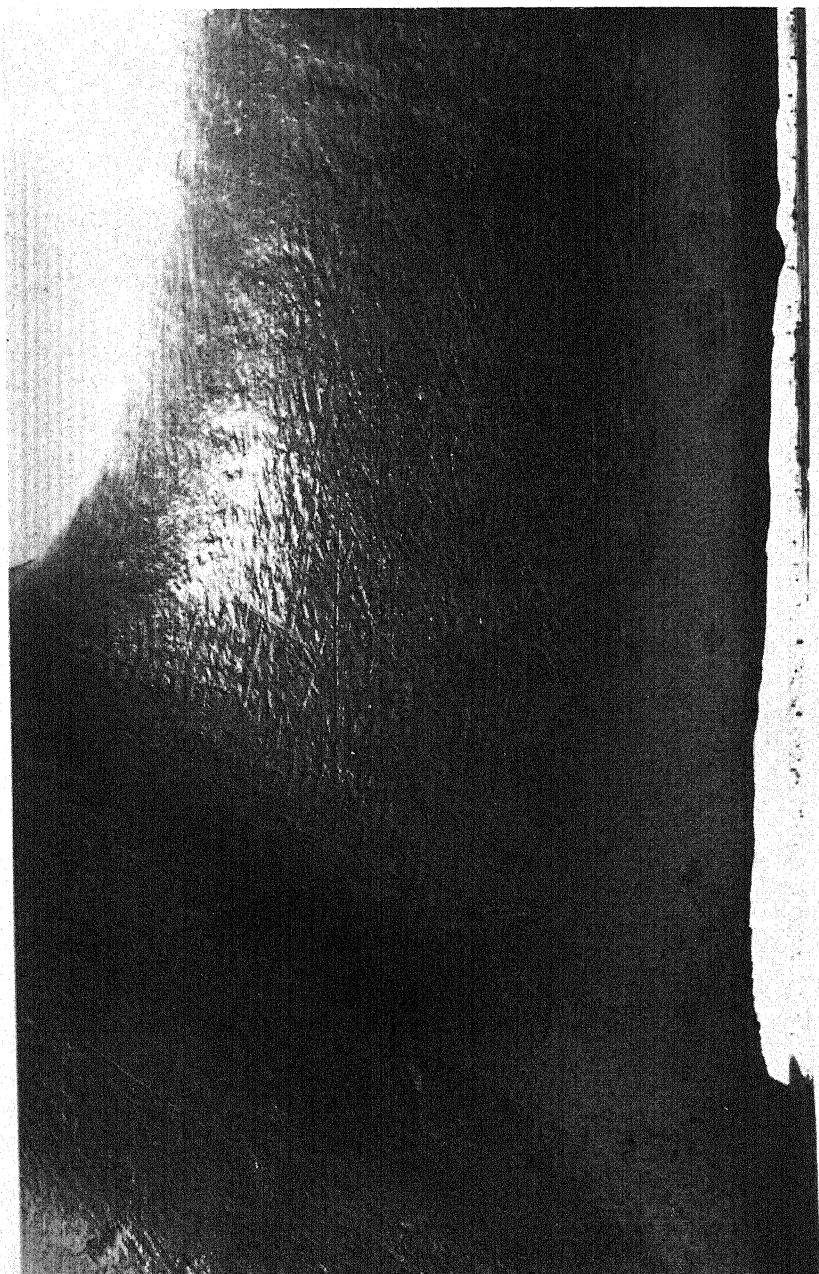
"ANUBIS X." FRONT-LEFT SIDE



A.—VIEW FROM ABOVE



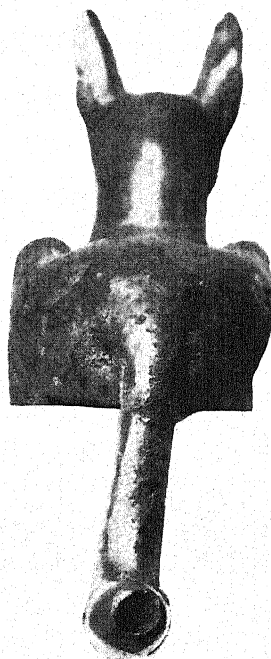
B.—UNDERSIDE OF THE BRONZE



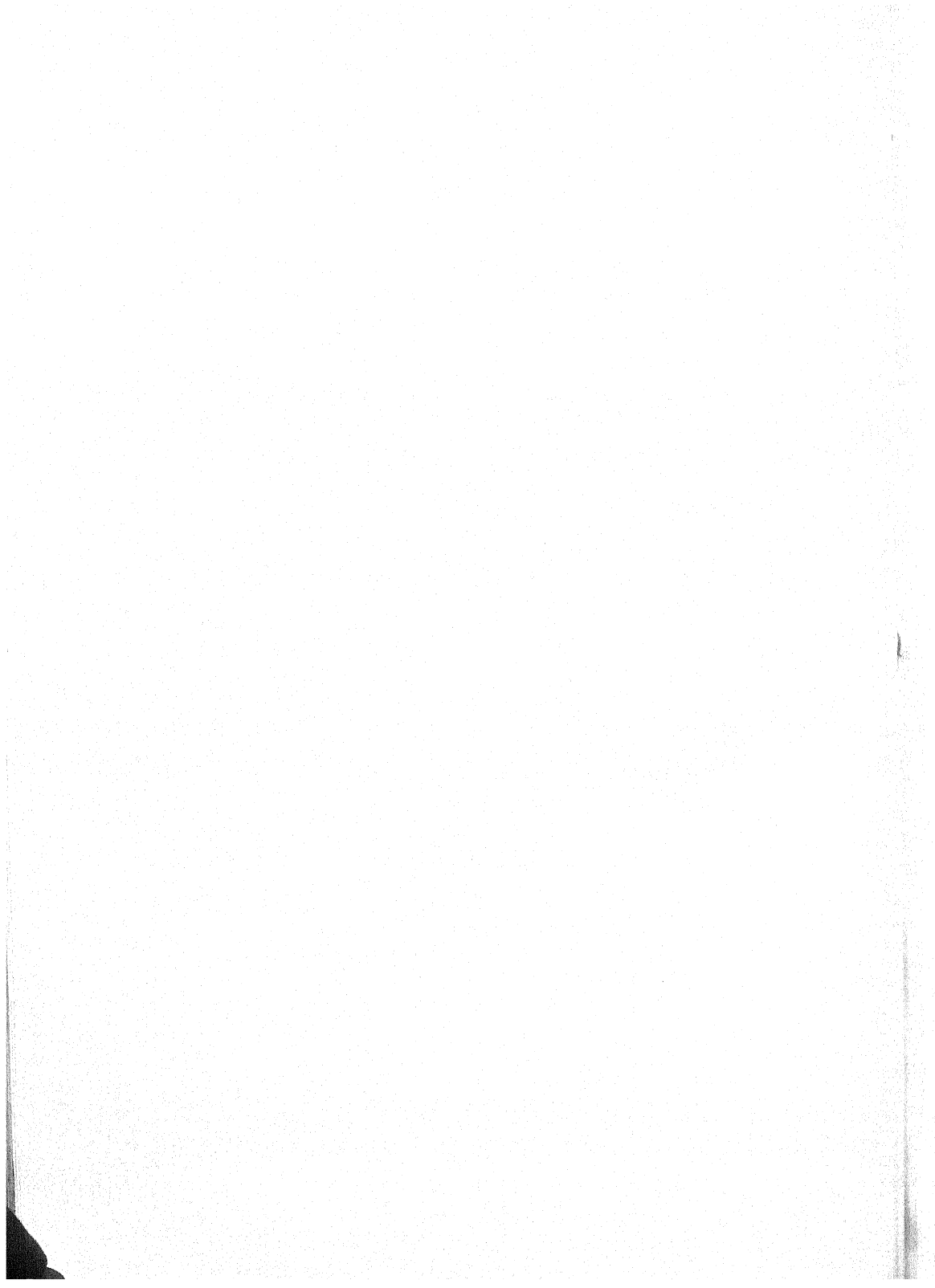
"ANUBIS X." CLOSE VIEW OF TORSO SHOWING IMPRESSIONS MARKING SEPARATION OF HAIR



A



B



A NEW FRAGMENT OF THE "DEEDS OF SUPPILULIUMA AS TOLD BY HIS SON, MURSILI II"¹

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IN *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi* XIV (Berlin, 1963)—(*KBo* XIV), a volume of Hittite texts published by H. G. Güterbock in 1963—No. 42 is a new fragment of the "Deeds of Suppiluliuma as Told by His Son, Mursili II," recognized as such by the editor. Güterbock's recognition is based on the fact that in ll. 8 and 12 the term *A-BU-IA*, "My Father," is used in a manner that is characteristic for the text of the "Deeds." A second argument adduced in the Introduction to this volume is the mention of Hannuttis, the Marshall, known from Fragment 28 A i:12 of the "Deeds," about whom we know from the Extensive Annals of Mursilis that he died in the beginning of Mursilis' reign, an event which made the critical situation of the young king even more difficult than it already was, Hannuttis is mentioned in the latter text as the traditional governor of the Lower Land (*KUB* XIX 29 IV:11-12 = Goetze, *AM*, pp. 18-19).

But one can go further: it is possible to use this text for the restoration of a more extensive fragment of the "Deeds," when it is combined with *KUB* XIX 22 (= 2 *BoTU* 68). Although published long ago and commented upon by a number of authors this text was up to this moment not recognized as such and therefore not admitted to the edition of Güterbock in *JCS*, X (1956). *KUB* XIX 22, ll. 1-7 is a more complete duplicate of the lines 8-16 of the new text, this duplicate continuing over some additional lines.

The beginning of this new fragment is preserved only in *KBo* XIV 42; from the point where *KUB* XIX 22 becomes available also, the transliteration is based on that text; restorations taken from *KBo* XIV 42 (indicated thereafter as A) are placed between parentheses inside square brackets. Perhaps it is good to note beforehand that the text is spread in A over a greater number of lines.

TRANSLITERATION

A	1	[ḫ]a-ap[]X X[]
	2	[an-d]a ḫa-at-ke-eš-š[a-nu-ut]
	3	[š]A KUR URUḪa-ak-pi-iš-š[a]
	4	[KUR URUḪa-ak-pi-iš-ša wa-a [l-aḫ-zi]
	5	[] ta-ma-aš-zi nu-kán URUḪa-a[k-pi-iš]
	6	[URUX-X-]pa-at-ḫa-aš URUTák-ku-up-ta-aš [-ša]
	7		a-aš-šir		

B	1	[nu-kán ú-i(t A-BU-I)]A A-NA DINGIR.MEŠ URUḪat-ti ^a Û A-NA DUTU
		URUTÚL-na
	2	[(AN.TAḪ.ŠUM ^{SAR} da-iš) nu ka]-[a ¹ -aš-pát me-mi-aš na-ak-ki-iš nu
		ku-ru-ri ^{HI.Ab}) ku-e

¹ I am much indebted to Professors Laroche and Güterbock, who have both very kindly read and commented on drafts of this paper.

^a A 8 URUḪa-a[t-ti]
^b A 10 ku-u-ru-ri^{HI.A}

10 [And] he burned down [the land of *Ḫa*]palla. And he removed (it) together
 11 with the population, [the cattle and the sheep] and he brought them to

Hattušaš.

12 [And my father sent forth to the country of . . .] and [gave] him troops

13 [and charioteers]

14

15

16

COMMENTARY

A 3 References for *Ḫakpiš*/*Ḫakmiš* may be found in Goetze, *RHA* I (1930), 22 note 23—Goetze proposes an identification with Amasya. See, too, Goetze, *RHA* XV, fasc. 61 (1957), 98.

5 *nu-kán* excludes direct discourse, since *-wa(r)* is absent; this in turn makes *ta-ma-aš-zi* more probable than *[iš-]ta-ma-aš-zi*; *ta-ma-aš-zi* could be an example of Praesens Historicum, also to be found in other fragments of the "Deeds"; therefore I have restored *wa-a* [*l-ah-zi*] instead of *wa-a* [*l-ah-ta*] (l. 4).

5-7 As *-kán* is the rule with the verb *aš-* I interpret this passage as an enumeration of towns still in Hittite possession or not yet captured by the Hittites; this—and the endless form—leads to the restoration of KUR (the country of *Ḫakpiš*) in l. 4.

6 For *Takkuptaš*/*Takkupšaš* see Goetze, *RHA* I (1930), 21 note 19; see furthermore Güterbock *JNES*, XX (1961), 88, note 16; H. Klengel, *MIO* VIII (1961), 19 with note 18; K. Riemschneider, *JCS* XVI (1962), 117, 119 (together with notes 81 and 82). The town was not far removed from Nerik, was still in Hittite possession during the reign of Muwatallis, and was reconquered and rebuilt under Hattusilis III after having been captured by the Gasga-tribes.

B 1 For the restoration of the beginning cf. Fragment 18 A i:17; 28 A iii:20.

2 See for the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM-festival (a Spring-festival): Goetze, *Kleinasien*², p. 165 together with note 5 and Güterbock, *JNES* XIX (1960), 80 ff. and especially p. 87 and *idem* apud G. Walser, *Neuere Hethiterforschung, Historia Einzelschriften Heft 7* (1964), p. 62 ff. The addition of [*ka*]-*l*¹-*aš* I owe to Laroche.

3 Syntax prescribes to view *ku-ru-ri*^{HIA} *ku-e* as object; this makes it necessary to restore a subject for *mi-e-nu-u-e-er* in the gap at the beginning of this line. Forrer (2 *BoTU* 68) wanted to restore [. . . . DINGIR.] *MEŠ-aš-pát*. Professor Güterbock warns me however that this restoration is precluded by the Hittite complement *-aš*, since *šiu-naš* never occurs as nom. pl. I take *mienu-* to have developed from *miyanu-*, the causative formation of the stem *mai-/miya-*; *miyanu-* means to "to cause to grow, to make fresh," cf. Güterbock, *Oriens* X (1957), 354. This form *mienu-* is also to be found in the Huwassanna Ritual *KUB* XVIII 12 II:14 in a difficult passage: (11) *na-aš-ta an-da ki-iš-ša-an me-ma-a-i ku-iš-wa* (12) *mi-e-nu-uš GÜB-za i-ja-ad-da-ri* (13) *nu-wa-aš-ši mi-e-nu e-eš-du nu-wa e-da-ni* (14) *an-tu-uḫ-ši e-ni GIG mi-e-nu-ud-du*. The key words of this passage are rendered in Sturtevant's *Glossary*², p. 101 as *mēnu* "a disease," *mēnu* "cause the symptoms of *mēnu*," and *mēnus* "ill with *mēnu*." It seems probable that there are at least two homonyms *minu/menu* (see, too, Friedrich, *HW*, p. 141 *menu-* c./n. "Durchfall[?]" and p. 143 *minu-* "allein[?]"). Maybe it is possible to assume a word play

and to translate: "And next she speaks thereby as follows: 'He, who is "sick with the *minu*-disease," shall go at the left side and he may have a "*minu*" (a product of vegetation?) and (it) may heal(?) for that man that sickness.'" However this may be, also in this passage the verb seems to have a favorable meaning.

6 The inhabitants of Lalanda seem to have been notorious trouble-makers in the Lower Land. In *KUB XIX 23*—a letter from a high official Tudhaliyas to a Hittite queen—they are mentioned again; there it is said that "in fact from of old they were wont to come down (upon Hittite territory)" (rev. 11). This letter was placed next to the newly recognized fragment of the "Deeds" by its editor Goetze, possibly in part on account of this mention of the name Lalanda, and in any case explicitly because of the fact that the same personal name Hannuttis occurs again in this letter (rev. 5, 6: cf. Goetze in his Introduction to the volume "Briefwechsel, nennt Hanuttiš"). After equating these two persons in the first edition of his *Recueil d'onomastique hittite* (1952), Laroche separated both in his *Additions et corrections* (*RHA XIII*, fasc. 57 (1955), 92–93), No. 140. At that later time he proposed to equate Tudhaliyas, the writer of this letter, with the later king Tudhaliyas, son of Hattusilis III. Laroche does not yet identify the supposedly late Hannuttis with any known figure from the time of Hattusilis III, but it would certainly be possible to do so, since a royal prince of this name appears in the list of witnesses to an important treaty of that epoch (*KBo IV 10* rev. 28). K. Riemschneider has elaborated on the probably important military role of the crown-prince Tudhaliyas (*JCS XVI* (1962), 110 ff. and especially pp. 119 ff.).

The localization of Lalanda is still in dispute—the context of both *KUB XIX 22* and *23* points to a position in a mountainous region bordering on the Lower Land and not far removed from Hapalla. Among the identifications proposed so far my preference is for Forrer's identification with the town Laranda of the Greek period, but it should immediately be added that this equation is far from secure (cf. Forrer *Forschungen I*, 71–72). See in the last instance Garstang and Gurney, *Geography*, pp. 84 and 99–100 and Cornelius, *Orientalia* 27 (1958), 384 and 389.

6–7 See for this passage as a whole "Deeds" fragment 28 A ii: 5–8, but note that it would also be possible to restore *iš-ta-maš-šir* in the beginning of line 7 as suggested in Gurney's translation of this passage (*Geography*, pp. 83 and 99).

8 This restoration is tentative and a further elaboration of Forrer's *KUR URUHa-at-ti*, cf. *EGIR-pa ŠA KUR URUHa-at-ti i-ia-* in a number of passages in the "Deeds," fragment 28 A i: 39 and 48; fragment 34 i: 52; fragment 51(?): 11. Güterbock suggests the same for fragment 17 G IV: 8–9.

11 With some hesitation I have adopted Forrer's reading *ša-ra-a*, although it is not favored by the traces in Goetze's copy. After *arḥa warnu-* and before *uda-* it is an almost inevitable restoration.

It is difficult to offer a suggestion for the possible position of this fragment in the totality of the "Deeds." Much depends on the question whether the group of towns in the North mentioned in lines 5–7 are the last outposts of Hittite resistance against the Gasga-invaders or—on the contrary—the last towns in possession of the enemy. The fact that these place names are not mentioned in the other fragments of the "Deeds" is puzzling indeed. This makes it impossible to connect this passage with another better-known phase of Suppiluliumas' wars in the North. The remainder of the fragment suggests a considerable improvement in the military situation in the South, which seems

to have been of a dangerous nature before this turn of events. Maybe it is worthwhile to recall that Forrer, who at first suggested that *KUB XIX 22* could be a portion of the missing historical introduction to Mursilis' treaty with Targasnallis of Hapalla and afterwards gave preference to the possibility that the text could belong to the first parts of Mursilis' Extensive Annals, rightly stressed the fact that Mursilis nowhere mentions the fact that he had had to conquer Hapalla (cf. Forrer, *Forschungen* I, 71-72 and *Bemerkungen*, p. 47* to 2 *BoTU* 68). This led Forrer to conjecture that the conquest of Hapalla mentioned in this text took place during the reign of Arnuwandas. Since it now is certain that the text actually belongs to the "Deeds," it is quite possible to modify Forrer's position into the statement that Hittite rule was restored in that region already during the reign of Suppiluliumas himself. Therefore it would be possible to place this fragment at the end of the "Deeds" assuming that the war in the North refers to the attacks of the Gasga-tribes during the last years of Suppiluliumas' reign. An important point in favor of this thesis may be the fact that according to this text Hannuttis is already operating in the Lower Land, the territory of which he was the governor according to the Extensive Annals of Mursilis before his death in the war against the Gasga-tribes in the vicinity of Ishupitta (*KUB XIX 29 IV: 11-12* = Goetze, *AM*, pp. 18-19). Since the AN.TAH.ŠUM-festival was held in the spring, the events around Lalanda could be dated to the beginning of one of the last years of Suppiluliumas' reign, if this conjecture should prove correct.

But it should be acknowledged that there is an alternative possibility. Another new fragment of the "Deeds"—*KBo XII 26 I* together with its duplicate *KBo XII 25 I*—also refers to a Gasgaean attack (*KBo XII 26 I: 12 ff.* = *KBo XII 25 I: 2 ff.*), while *KBo XII 26 IV* relates events that took place in the South and mentions Mount Tiwatassa (l. 8), Waliwanta (l. 15) and Sallapa (l. 17). The commander Himuilis is mentioned in *KBo XII 26 I: 17* = *KBo XII 25 I: 6* (see, too, ll. 10 and 15). All this is vaguely reminiscent of the fragments 18-22 of the "Deeds," where events that took place in the same general surroundings, Arzawa, are related in great detail, where Himuilis is mentioned (fragment 18 A i: 23, 24, 28), and where Hapalla itself also occurs (fragment 20 i: 10). The possibility should not be excluded that all the new fragments belong somewhere in this group.

im großen Vorhof des Ptah gegeben, indem sie ausgestattet ist mit Web-Priestern, Sängerinnen und allen guten Dingen des Gottesopfers".]

Zur Bezeichnung der Statue vgl. Zeile x + 4, zu ihrem Standort Zeile x + 7.

Damit ist eigentlich die Erklärung des Stiftenden in rechtskräftiger Weise abgegeben und wir können nun die gewöhnliche Unterschrift ansetzen, die aus der Namensliste der Angehörigen des Gerichtshofes besteht. Hierfür liegen wieder genügend Beispiele vor, so daß die Ergänzung möglich ist. Dabei ergibt sich, daß wir Reste davon in der Zeile x + 1 erkennen können:

[𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏] 𓂏𓂏 [𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏]

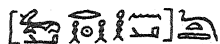
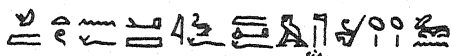
"[Vor dem großen Gerichtshof] von Heliopolis [an diesem Tage.]" Hierzu vgl. Mes-Inscription S 8.

In Zeile x + 2 ist die Namensliste des großen Gerichtshofes zu erkennen, die sicherlich am Ende von Zeile x + 1 durch [𓂏𓂏𓂏] "Dazugehörige Namensliste" eingeleitet war; vgl. "Mes-Inscription", S 7; ÄZ LXIII, 105 ff. II 6 (Münchener Prozessurkunde). Mit Zeile x + 2 sind die Namen aufgeführt. Das bisher aus der Mes-Inschrift bekannte "große Gericht von Heliopolis" (vgl. Helck, *Verwaltung*, 26 f.) muß vom Vezir geleitet sein, so daß wir am Anfang von Zeile x + 2 mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit Titel und Namen des damaligen nördlichen Vezirs ergänzen müssen. Leider scheint dieser gerade für die zweite Hälfte der Regierung Ramses' III. nicht belegt zu sein; sein südlicher Kollege war der Vezir T³, dessen Nennung hier aber nicht zu erwarten ist (vgl. Helck, a.a.O. 331). Der zweite Beamte hieß Hrj (der von Schulman angenommene Name Nfr-Hr ist nicht belegt und liegt hier auch nicht vor). Sein Titel ist auf der mir freundlicherweise von Herrn Schulman zur Verfügung gestellten Grabungsphotographie auf einem unter dessen weggebrochenen kleinen Fragment noch zu erkennen: er war 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏

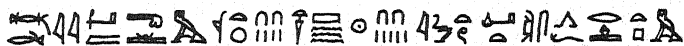
"Stellvertreter von Memphis". Dieser gleiche Mann wird auf der Apisstele Nr. 10 mit gleichgeschriebenem Titel aufgeführt; in ihm haben wir den Vertreter des Bürgermeisters von Memphis zu sehen. Der dritte der genannten Beamten ist der Truchseß Hrj, ein ebenfalls in dieser Zeit bereits bekannter Mann, so im 2. Jahr Ramses' IV. (*Ostrakon Deir el-Medineh, non-litt.* Nr. 45 rto 15; Pleyte-Rossi, *Pap. Turin* 49,3). Am Ende erscheint die Gruppe von Schreibern als Angehörige des Gerichtshofs genannt, wobei fraglich bleibt, zu welcher Institution sie zu rechnen sind; Schulmans Annahme, sie gehörten zum Totentempel des Merneptah, ist möglich, aber scheint mir nicht recht zu der geringen Spur nach 𓂏𓂏𓂏 zu passen.

Mit dieser Aufzählung dürfen wir aber nicht die folgende Zeile x + 3 verbinden, wie es von Schulman getan wird, der nach Parallelen in den Hammamat-Inschriften ergänzen will: "[Es befahl S.M. dem] . . . Hrj und . . . Hrj, diese [Stele] im Palast [zu errichten] gemäß dem, was der König selbst gesagt hatte. . .". Wir sahen schon, daß der Anfang mit der Nennung der Beamten ganz anders ergänzt werden muß. In Zeile x + 3 ist schon die Ergänzung des Wortes wd "Stele" als feminines Wort (tn "diese" ist ja erhalten!) nicht möglich. Wir müssen im Gegenteil den Anfang der Zeile x + 3 nach der Ahmesnofretere-Inscription ASAE LVI, 139 ff.; oder der schon benutzten Münchener Prozessurkunde Zeile 5 oder der Mes-Inschrift S 6.9 ergänzen zu 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏


Die vorgenommene Ergänzung, daß diese gestifteten Leute dem Stifter weiterhin unterstellt bleiben sollen bzw. ihm durch den König als entgegennehmende Stelle wieder zurücküberwiesen werden, ergibt sich aus dem folgenden Satz, der das erklärt:



Meine Ergänzung "auf ewig" entspricht etwa Ahmesnofretete-Inschrift Zeile 24 und weicht von Schulmans Deutung ab, der hier ein Wort für "(Beamten)-Stab" lesen will. Doch trenne ich den folgenden Satz von der Erklärung des Königs ab.

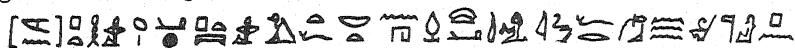


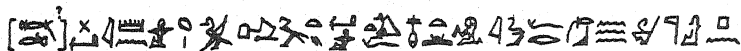
An diesem Tag der "Vorstellung" war auch die gestiftete Statue in den Tempel "hineingebracht" worden; zu *šmšj* in diesem Sinn vgl. *Urk.* IV 1398, 1.16. Sie "ruht" (*htp*—nicht, wie Schulman las: *i3.t!*) nun an ihrem Platz im Tempel, vgl. *Urk.* IV 1833.5.

Als dritter Teil der Akten folgt jetzt die Aufstellung der gestifteten Leute, eingeleitet mit der üblichen Phrase, die wir frei als "Liste" übersetzen können: 

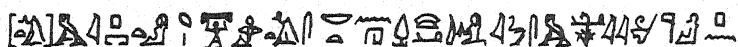
Wir dürfen also diese Phrase nicht, wie Schulman es tut, mit dem vorhergehenden Satz verbinden, vgl. Naunakhte-Testament *JEa* XXXI, 29 ff., IV 1; VII 1; Pap. Leiden 352 (*JEa* XXIII, 186 ff.); Ostrakon Brit. Mus. 5637 (*JEa* XII, 183 ff.); Gardiner-Černý, *Ostraca* 63,1 rto 1; 72,1 rto 1; 85,1 rto 1; 86,1 rto u.ö.

Es folgt die Aufstellung:









"*Mrj-n-Pth*, Sohn des *h-pt*, seine Mutter *Nb.t-nh.t-h^c.tj*: er soll Web-Priester dieses Gottes sein;

[*šd*?]-*Imn*, Sohn des *h^cwtj*, seine Mutter *Nfr.t*: er soll Web-Priester dieses Gottes sein;

[*T³-w*]*r[t]-hr.tj-ib*, ihre Mutter *šh-nfr*, Sängerin der reinen Stiftung des Ptah: sie soll Sängerin dieses Gottes sein;

[*Mw.t*]-*m-ip.t*, Tochter des *h-p.t*, ihre Mutter *Nb.t-nh.t-h^c.tj*: sie soll Sängerin dieses Gottes sein".

Diese Leute tragen keine Titel, sie werden wahrscheinlich Angehörige des Haushalts des Stifters sein, die ihm gegebenenfalls sogar vom Tempel aus zugewiesen worden waren. Dafür spricht die Nennung einer Tochter einer Angehörigen der "reinen Stiftung des Ptah". Dies ist eine nur beim Ptah-Tempel nachweisbare Anlage, bei der Schulman schon auf Pap. Harris I 47,8 ff. verwiesen hat und mir außerdem noch zusätzlich aus späterer Zeit *ASAE* VIII, 37 § 144; *Berlin Inschr.* II 230 Nr. 9320; Weil, *Veziere* p. 157 § 37 und Kairo 741 nannte. Dabei erscheint mir auffallend, daß gerade bei dieser Tochter einer Angehörigen der "reinen Stiftung" kein Vater genannt wird. Es wird sich also wohl um eine Sklavensiedlung handeln, wie etwa auch *Urk.* IV 1556 solche als *grg.t* bezeichnet werden. Dabei heißt sie Pap. Harris a.a.O. "reine Frauengründung," d.h. es war eine nur für Frauen vorgesehene Siedlung. Auch Pap. Harris I 30,2 beim Re-Tempel (wo allerdings nicht ausdrücklich von einer "Frauengründung" gesprochen wird) wird wie an der Stelle 47,8 ff. bei der Nennung dieser Anlage besonderen Wert auf den Nachwuchs gelegt, so daß man vielleicht annehmen könnte, daß die Angehörigen dieser Siedlung die Aufgabe hatten, für Nachwuchs zu sorgen. Man erinnere sich daran, daß im *Rh-mj-R*-Grab bei der Ausgabe von Stoff an die Frauen der Sklavensiedlungen diese ihre Kinder mitbringen, weil diese anscheinend für die Berechnung der Bezahlung mit Stoff von Wichtigkeit sind.

Als letzte Akte folgt der Auszug aus der Liste der Zuweisungen, die vom König dieser neu gestifteten Statue zukommen sollten. Dabei ist leider der Text vom Verfasser unserer Inschrift mißverstanden worden: handelte es sich doch um eine Aufstellung in Kolumnen. Dabei hat er die letzte, die die Herkunft der einzelnen Lieferungen angab, zunächst vergessen und dann am Schluß nachgetragen, wodurch die Verbindung mit

der Lieferung und ihrer Ausgabestelle bzw. der Angabe, auf welche Zeit die Maßangabe berechnet war, verloren gegangen ist. Wir müssen sie—unter Benutzung solcher Parallelen wie den Opferlisten in Medinet Habu, im Tempel Ramses' III. in Karnak (*JAOS* LVI, 232 ff.) oder der Liste Amenophis' II. *Urk.* IV 1341 etwa in folgender Weise rekonstruieren:

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“Man veranlaßte, daß man ihr (:der Statue) gab:

gutes Brot des Gottesopfers

10 Laib täglich, aus dem Schatzhaus d.Ptah

bj-Kuchen

3 monatlich

Bier

1 *ds* (täglich)

Kraut

5 Bündel (")

Fleischstück

1 am 1. *ḫ.t*

Wein

1 *hin* täglich

Weihrauch

1 *kite* (")

Früchte

1 Korb (")

Blumen

je 4 *ms*- und *hṭp*-Bund täglich

Sesam-Öl	3 hin monatlich	aus Nubien und Oase
Kleider dieses Gottes:		
gutes <i>šm^c</i> Schurz	2	aus Schatzhaus Pharaos
<i>šm^c</i> „	1	
<i>rhmn</i>	1	

Die Ergänzungen am Anfang der Zeilen x + 13 und x + 14 (*šm* und *dnj.t*) bedürfen wohl keiner Begründung. In der Liste selbst ist einmal—bei der Biereintragung—ein “täglich” ausgefallen, da Bier (und das folgende Gemüse) zu den gewöhnlichsten Opfergaben gehören und somit täglich angeliefert wurden; es darf also das “monatlich” des (seltenen) Kuchens nicht übernommen werden.

Ferner ist in Zeile x + 15 ein Schreibfehler derart, daß der “ditto”-Strich, der bei *šm^c* in der ursprünglichen Liste das darüber (bei *šm^c nfr*) stehende Wort “Schurz” wiederholte, als “t” umschrieben worden ist.

Zu der Verteilung der nachgetragenen Herkunftsbezeichnungen am Ende des Textes ist zu bemerken, daß die Angabe “(aus) dem Schatzhaus des Ptah (-Tempels)” sicherlich für die ganzen Lieferungen mit Ausnahme der letzten, der Sesam-Öl-Lieferung, gilt. Zu dem Sesam-Öl dürfte die Sonderangabe “(aus) Nubien und den Oasen” gehören; hier handelt es sich wahrscheinlich um eine unmittelbare Anlieferung von dortigen (Tempel-)Plantagen, die nicht erst über das Tempelschatzhaus laufen müssen. Die Angabe über Anlieferung “(aus) dem Schatzhaus Pharaos,” d.h. aus dem staatlichen Schatzhaus, wird sich wohl allein auf die Kleider beziehen, indem hier eine bestimmte Gruppe von Dingen einer anderen Institution als sonst abgefordert wird; ähnliche Verteilungen der Anlieferungen auf verschiedene Ausgabestellen finden wir auch bei den oben genannten Opferlisten und sind also nichts Besonderes.

Wenn die Angabe “1. *šp.t*” bei der Opfergabe von Fleisch eingeordnet worden ist, so beruht das darauf, daß Fleischopfer nur an den höchsten Festtagen gegeben werden. Für den Totentempel des Mernephtah in Memphis dürfte dieser höchste Festtag aber der Thronbesteigungstag des Königs gewesen sein, der ja auch, wie wir aus den Akten von Deir el-Medineh wissen, bei den Königen Ramses II. und III. noch lange nach deren Regierung als höchster Feiertag ihrer Totentempel angesehen wurde. Nun lag aber der Thronbesteigungstag Mernephtahs im 1. *šp.t* (vgl. Helck, *Analecta Biblica* 12 p. 120 f.); leider ist an unserer Stelle nicht der genaue Tag angegeben.

Betrachten wir die gesamte Inschrift, so haben wir in ihr die Auszüge von 4 Aktenstücken, die die Weihung einer Statue Ramses' III. in den Totentempel des Mernephtah im Ptahtempel zu Memphis durch einen an diesem Tempel angestellten Priester festlegen mit Stiftungsakte (weitgehend verloren), kgl. Entscheid, Namensliste des mitgestifteten Kultpersonals und Aufstellung der vom König für den Opferkult zugewiesenen Lebensmittel und Kleider. Nicht werden hier Felder für die Königsstatue gestiftet; aus diesem Grunde mögen die Lebensmittel für das Opfer durch kgl. Befehl aus dem Ptahtempel zugewiesen worden sein. In anderen Fällen solcher Statuenstiftungen sind es gerade die Felderüberweisungen, die besonders gut belegt sind, wie etwa im Papyrus Wilbour (vgl. Aufstellung Helck, *Materialien* 229 ff.), bei der Stiftung des Stellvertreters von Wawat *Pn-nw.t* in Anibe (Lepsius, *Denkm.* III. 229 c) oder der Stiftung Pap. Pleyte-Rossi, *Pap. Turin* 32 (vgl. Helck, *Materialien* 197). Bei den “Barken, Statuen und Statuengruppen”, die Pap. Harris I 11, 1/2 Ramses III. als “von Beamten, Standartenträgern, Inspektoren und Privatleuten hergestellt und von M.M. wirtschaftlich an den Amuntem-

pel angeschlossen" bezeichnet, mag es sich wie in unserem Fall um Statuenstiftungen handeln, die keine eigenen Felder und damit keine eigenen Einkünfte hatten und die deshalb von einer anderen Institution her versorgt werden mußten; diese Zuwendung von Lebensmitteln aus dem Amuntempel mag in diesem Ausdruck enthalten sein, daß der König sie "wirtschaftlich dem Amuntempel anschloß". Auch dort sind für den Kult der Statuen gleichzeitig Personen gestiftet worden: zu 2756 Statuen des Königs gehörten 5164 Leute, so daß man durchschnittlich also mit knapp 2 Statuendienern rechnen kann; unsere Stiftung von 4 Leuten ist also überdurchschnittlich.

Betrachten wir zunächst Grund und Absicht dieser Stiftungen, so sind sie offenbar und bereits ausgesprochen worden (*Materialien* 196): Wenn eine Privatperson eine Königsstatue mit Feldern, Leuten und vielleicht auch noch anderen Stiftungen aufstellte und in einen Tempel stiftete, so bestand der moralische Zwang für den König, den Stifter bei dieser Statue zum Propheten einzusetzen. Damit behielt der Stifter die Nutznießung der Stiftung, da alle Opfer, nachdem sie der Statue vorgelegt worden waren, ihm zugute kamen. Die mitgestifteten Leute, die beim Statuenkult untergeordneten Dienst taten, bearbeiteten natürlich auch die Opferfelder der Statue, und blieben weiter Untergebene ihres bisherigen Herrn—zwar nicht mehr als Hausangestellte, sondern nun als untergebene "Priester" ihrem priesterlichen Herrn gegenüber. Durch diese ihm wieder zugewiesene Stiftung eines Teils seines Besitzes sicherte sich der Betreffende Einkünfte auch für die Zeit, in der er kein Amt mehr ausübte und dann die ihm allein für die Zeit seiner offiziellen Tätigkeit zugewiesenen Felder und Einkünfte theoretisch an die Krone hätten zurückfallen müssen. Dabei stiftet man nicht nur von Feldern, die dem Betreffenden etwa ad personam überwiesen worden waren, sondern auch von nur zur zeitweisen Verwaltung übergebenen (*b3*-Feldern) oder von Feldern, die dem Amt zugehörten, das der Betreffende gerade verwaltete. So hatte der Stellvertreter von Wawat *Pn-nw.t* Äcker sowohl auf den Feldern Pharaos wie auf den Äckern der Göttin in Besitz, bei denen es sich wohl um Zuweisungen handelte, die ihm persönlich gemacht worden waren; daneben aber lagen andere Äcker, die er dann der Statue seines Königs Ramses' IV. weihte, auf den Feldern, die zum Amt des Stellvertreters von Wawat gehörten. Durch solche Stiftungen aus dem "Amtsvermögen" verminderte man allerdings dieses für den Nachfolger, wohl in der Hoffnung, daß der König es dann wieder auffüllte. Worauf es ankommt, ist, daß man sich klar ist, daß die gestifteten Felder (und bei den gestifteten Leuten mag es ähnlich gewesen sein) verschiedenster Herkunft sein konnten: persönliches Eigentum, persönlich zugewiesene Liegenschaften, Amtsliegenschaften und sogar nur dem Betreffenden in seiner Amtseigenschaft zur zeitweisen kommissarischen Verwaltung anvertraute Felder konnten als Stiftungen an Königsstatuen verwendet und somit zur persönlichen "Pension" umgeändert werden. Da allerdings der König diese Stiftungen genehmigen mußte, konnte er einen Mißbrauch verhindern.

Ist somit die wirtschaftliche Seite solcher Stiftungen und der ähnlicher Art (vgl. die Stiftungen *Sn-mut's*, *ÄZ* LXXXV, 23 ff.; *Materialien* 224 ff.) deutlich, so scheint das nicht für die theologischen Fragen zu gelten. Ist es doch schon auffällig, daß ein Privatmann eine Königsstatue von sich aus stiften kann. Betrachtet man sich die überlieferten Angaben genauer, so erkennt man auch, daß das eine Neuerung der Ramessidenzeit ist. Vor dieser Zeit kann zwar eine Privatperson einer Königsstatue etwas stiften, wie der *mr pr wr* von Memphis *Imn-htp* an eine Statue Königs Amenophis III. im Ptahtempel zu

Memphis (*Urk.* IV 1796, 14 ff.). Aber auch das scheint ein Übergangstadium zu sein. Vorher besitzen wir zahlreiche Bemerkungen, daß der König einem Privatmann eine seiner Statuen oder der kgl. Familie "schenkt" (*Materialien* 226 ff.), zusammen mit den festgelegten Opfern und sonstigen Stiftungen. Auch hier ist der Zweck der, das der Betreffende dadurch von den Opfern sein ganzes Leben hindurch als "Opferverwalter" (*hnkj*) leben kann—auch nach Beendigung seines Dienstverhältnisses—eben als "Pension". Das Besondere in der Ramessidenzeit ist also, daß der Beamte von sich aus, durch Stiftung der Königsstatue, sich die "Pension" sichern konnte, während er vorher die Gnade des Königs abwarten mußte.

Bei der Frage der religiösen Verankerung dieser Statuenstiftungen muß man die Vorstellung einer "Vergöttlichung" des noch lebenden Königs (Schulman, *a.a.O.* 183) wohl ausschließen. Es ist dies allerdings eine Frage der Terminologie. Es müßte ja schon stutzig machen, daß keine Götterstatuen von den Privatleuten gestiftet werden, sondern allein Königsstatuen. Sie heißen zwar im Papyrus Wilbour "Götter Pharaos," doch bedeutet ihre Aufstellung und Verehrung keine "Vergöttlichung".

Sie sind allein zu erklären aus dem Brauch der Ka-Statue, wie er schon seit dem A.R. bei den Königen bestand: Er verteilte seine Statuen in eigenen Kapellen, die den Landestempeln angeschlossen waren, im Lande, damit seine Macht von ihnen ausging und auch das Volk ihm dort die zustehende Verehrung zeigen konnte. Sie wurden in gleicher Weise "angebetet" wie der König selbst, da ja zwischen ihnen im Grundsätzlichen kein Unterschied war. Vertreten doch auch kgl. Statuen (die ihrerseits wieder "Kult" erhielten), den König beim Gebet und Opfer vor einem Gott: das sind die sog. Statuen "beim Auszug" (des Gottes), wie sie *Urk.* 1501 ein Priester als *hnkj* ("Opferverwalter") zugewiesen bekommen hatte.

Es ist also festzuhalten, daß grundsätzlich von jedem König im N.R. Statuen aufgestellt und verehrt bzw. mit Opfern versehen werden konnten. Es ist also kein "Kult des lebenden Königs," der "neu eingeführt" wird, also eine besondere, bisher nicht vorhandene Überhöhung der Verehrung des Königs, wie man es anscheinend aufgefaßt hat (Schulman, *a.a.O.* 184). Besonders Ramses II. ist in dieser Hinsicht gern hervorgehoben worden, weil die Soldaten von Horbeit anscheinend eine solche Statue besonders als ihren ureigensten Vermittler zum lebenden König angesehen haben (Roeder, *ÄZ* LXVI, 57 ff.; Clère, *Kêmi* XI, 23 ff.). Möglicherweise waren sie offiziell als "Priester" dieser Statuen eingesetzt, da ihre Frauen als "Sängerinnen" der Königsstatuen auftreten (Clère, *a.a.O.* 33). Daß sie selbst den Web-Titel nicht führen, findet seine Parallele darin, daß auch die Arbeiter von Deir el-Medineh diesen Titel nur sehr selten und wohl nur in rein religiösem Zusammenhang (Prozession) nennen, sonst aber den zivilen Titel wie hier die Soldaten; die Frauen besaßen aber keinen Ziviltitel. Vor einer solchen Statue Ramses' IX. als Vertreter des nicht anwesenden Königs selbst wurde die Belohnung des Hohenpriesters Amenophis vorgenommen, wie die Abbildungen in Karnak zeigen (Lange, *Ägyptische Kunst* pl. 85); sie mag vom Hohenpriester vielleicht sogar selbst gestiftet worden sein.

Es ergibt sich also, daß das so oft diskutierte Problem der "Vergöttlichung des lebendigen Königs" nicht besteht. Denn jeder König und auch jede Königin stellt Statuen von sich auf und versorgt sie mit Opfern, Leuten und Feldern, so daß sie den normalen Statuenkult erhalten. Der einzige Unterschied zwischen der 18. und der 19/20. Dynastie ist dabei, daß man zunächst die vom König bzw. Königin errichteten Statuen

einem Privatmann als deren Prophet übergibt, daß man aber in der Ramessidenzeit auch von Privatseite aus solche Königsstatuen aufstellen und ausstatten kann. Die Gründe dafür sind bereits angeführt worden.

Wenn dabei der lebende König auch einmal seine eigene Statue verehrt und ihr Opfer darbringt, wie auf den Horbeit-Stelen dargestellt, so zeigt das wohl an, daß man in den Statuen den Ka des Königs wohnend und wirkend ansah, der auch im und aus dem lebenden König wirkte, dort aber "Fleisch geworden" und somit nicht in der Reinheit wirksam sein konnte, wie aus der Statue. Es ist bezeichnend, daß am Ende der Rames-sidenzeit bei Belobigungen (wie etwa der schon angeführten Inschrift des Hohen-priesters *Imn-ḥtp*) es immer heißt: "Dich lobt Month, dich lobt Amun, dich lobt *der Ka* des Königs N.N". Hier erkennt man die Trennung, die man zwischen dem Ka des Königs als der reinen Königsmacht und dem zeitweiligen Träger dieser Macht machte; ähnlich wird wohl auch der Unterschied zwischen der Königsstatue als passivem Träger des Ka und dem lebenden König, in dem das Menschliche und der Ka sich vermischen und der göttliche Ka nicht so unmittelbar wirken kann wie aus der Statue, vorzustellen sein. Man kann also sagen, daß gar nicht der "lebendige König" kultisch verehrt wird, sondern sein Ka, also das ewig Königliche, wirkend aus einer Form, die allein des Königs Äußeres zeigt, aber nicht sein menschliches Wesen.

DAVID NEIMAN, Brandeis University

IN a brief article which appeared in a previous issue of this *Journal*,¹ the writer called attention to the character of the names given by the Phoenicians to the many towns and cities which they founded around the coastlands of the Mediterranean and on its islands. The study concluded with the observation that there were at least three cities called by the Phoenicians "New Town." One of these was situated on the island of Cyprus,² another was the great metropolis, capital of the North African Empire of Carthage, and a third was a daughter of the capital of the Punic Empire, the city of Carthage, which was established in the third century B.C. in southern Spain and is known to this day as Cartagena.³

The Phoenician colony destined to grow far greater in wealth, influence, and power than her mother-cities of Tyre and Sidon was Carthage in North Africa. Situated at the center of the Mediterranean coastline of Africa, Carthage controlled the sea lanes of the world, especially the western reaches of the Mediterranean, and maintained that control for nearly three centuries.

Carthage is, of course, the city called by the Romans *Carthago*.⁴ We take *Carthago* to be the Latin phonetic approximation of the native name of the city, which was *Qart Ḥadašt*.⁵ If *Carthago* represents *Qart Ḥadašt*, then the Latin rendering contains the complete first word in the name; namely, *Cart*, and the last element in the Latin, *-hago*, would remain to serve as the approximation of the Phoenician word *Ḥadašt*. The Phoenician word *Qart* means "city,"⁶ and *Ḥadašt* is the adjective "new." The full name of the city in the native script and language is attested by the presence of the name in the inscriptions from Carthage, Limassol, and Kition referred to above. Nevertheless, even though we know that *Carthago* stands for *Qart-Ḥadašt*, there is no way of making the phonetic equation between *Ḥadašt* and *-hago* logical or understandable. Any attempt to do so—and they have been made in the past—falls under the weight of too great a load of conjecture and supposition.

¹ "Phoenician Place-Names," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, XXIV (January–April, 1965), 113–15.

² Inscriptions referring to a "New City" on the island of Cyprus have been found at Limassol and at Kition. See Mark Lidzbarski's *Handbuch der Nord-semitischen Epigraphik*, I (Weimar: Verlag Emil Felber, 1898), 419, and George Albert Cooke's *Textbook of North Semitic Inscriptions* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1903), pp. 52, 68, and 134.

References to this *Qarti-Ḥadašti* on Cyprus are also found in the inscriptions of the Assyrian kings. Esarhaddon refers to it as being on the island of Iatnana (= Cyprus). See R. Campbell Thompson, *The Prisms of Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal* (London: Oxford University Press, 1931), p. 25, col. V, line 69.

³ Polybius, *The Histories*, III, 15, 3.

⁴ E.g., Pliny, *Natural History*, III, 19, 25; V, 26. Quintus Curtius Rufus, *History of Alexander* ("LCL" ed.), I, 179, 204; Cicero, *De Republica*, I, 1; II, 4.

⁵ קרתחדשת in an inscription from Carthage in North Africa, in G. A. Cooke's *Textbook of North Semitic Inscriptions*, p. 134.

⁶ Identical with קרת, an archaism in Hebrew (e.g., Prov. 8:3), where עיר became the normal word for "city." *Qāret* is reserved for poetic passages. A variant, קריה is not so obsolescent as *Qāret*, and appears frequently as a word for "town" or "city," e.g., Deut. 3:4 and Isa. 1:26. *Qirjāh* is also used frequently as part of a city-name, in much the same way as the Greek word *polis* in such names as Heliopolis. So we find, for example, קריה-ארבע which is the more ancient name of Hebron (Gen. 23:2; Josh. 14:15) and קריה-טבר which is also known as Debir (Josh. 15:15).

But the Greek historians, when writing about that city, use neither the name *Qart-Hadašt* nor *Carthago*, nor any variation thereof. Beginning with the Greek writers of the fifth century B.C., and continuing through the fourth century A.D., we find one consistent tradition for recording the name of the great North African metropolis, and it does not contain the name *Carthago*. Neither Herodotus nor Thucydides record the name *Carthago*, although both write about Carthage and the Carthaginians. Polybius wrote the authoritative history of the Punic Wars, yet the name *Carthago* does not appear in his *Histories*. Neither Strabo in his *Geography* nor Dio Cassius in his *Roman History* spell out the name *Carthago*, and Eusebius, in his *Ecclesiastical History*, does not use it, *except when he translates the texts of Latin documents*.⁷

The Greek tradition, from the earliest times to the latest, calls the capital of the North African Phoenician Empire *Carchêdôn* [Καρχηδών]. *Carchêdôn* is not *Carthago*, and the two names do not come from the same root-words. The Greeks were generally quite reliable in their rendition of Semitic names. There is nothing especially difficult about the name *Qart-Hadašt*, and to the sensitive Hellenic ear it would normally have emerged as *Καρθηδος. This would have been morphologically transmuted to *Καρθηδών.⁸ But *Καρθηδών, although it would be an accurate Greek rendering of Phoenician *Qart-Hadašt*, is not *Καρχηδών*. The Greek name for Carthage comes from a different source.

Eusebius gives us a clue to the solution of the problem of the two different names which are used for Carthage. It is apparent from a reading of his *Ecclesiastical History* that there are two traditions extant in the classical world. The name *Carchêdôn* is used in the Hellenic tradition, while the Latin uses *Carthago* to designate the same place. Both traditions appear side by side in Eusebius' writings, for when he writes in his native Greek, he uses his own traditional form, namely *Carchêdôn*. When he translates Latin documents, on the other hand, he uses the Latin name of the city, *Carthago*.

The problem of the divergence of the Greek and Latin forms of the name of the great capital city of the Punic Empire was dealt with earlier in a grammatical analysis of Johannes Friedrich,⁹ to which addenda were made by William F. Albright in an article on the early history of Phoenician colonization.¹⁰ Friedrich believes that both *Carthago* and *Καρχηδών* derive from the same source, both being forms developed from an Old Latin *Carthada* which is given as the original Phoenician name of the city by Caius Julius Solinus in his *Collectanea*¹¹ and repeated by Isidorus of Seville in his *Etymologiae*.¹²

The existence of this form cited by Solinus—*Carthada*—leads Friedrich to the following derivation of the two forms of the name:

Phoenician *Qart-Hadašt* dropped its last two consonants to become Old Latin *Carthada* (*Cart-Hada*).¹³ *Cart-Hada*, in which the *t* was pronounced as a stop followed by an aspirated *h* was reduced to Greek theta (*θ*). The Greeks and Latins did not hear *Carthada* as *Cart-Hada*, but rather as *Car-tha-da* (Καρθαδα). *Carthada* was transformed

⁷ Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, VII, iii, 1; X, v, 18; and X, vi, 1.

⁸ On the analogy of Acheron, Croton, Marathon, etc. Most of these names and others are scattered throughout Greek literature. They can be conveniently located in Strabo's *Geography*, "Loeb Classical Library" edition. E.g., Vol. III, p. 28 and p. 300; IV, p. 186; VIII, p. 190.

⁹ In an article, "Καρχηδών und Carthago," in *Indogermanische Forschungen*, XXXIX, (Berlin, 1921), 102-104.

¹⁰ In the *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, No. 83 (October, 1941), p. 21, note 29.

¹¹ Caius Iulius Solinus, *Collectanea Rerum Memorabilium*, edited by Theodor Mommsen (Berlin: Weidmann, 1895), p. 117 (27:10).

¹² Isidorus of Seville, *Etymologiae* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911), 2 vols., vol. II, Book xv, 1, 30.

¹³ Johannes Friedrich, *op. cit.*, p. 103. "Wahrscheinlich eine Kurzform zu *Qart-Hadašt*."

by assimilation into Latin *Carthago* and into Greek **Carchadôn*. **Carchadôn* became *Carchêdôn*.

Friedrich explains the complete absence of the form **Καρχαδών* in Greek inscriptions by assuming that the usual form, *Καρχηδών* had replaced the older form completely.

It is the burden of this paper that the Greek and the Latin forms of the name of Carthage are derived from two different words in the Phoenician language. The Latin name *Carthago* does come from the Phoenician *Qart-Hadašt*;¹⁴ the Greek *Καρχηδών* does not.

What is the source of the name *Καρχηδών*? The Greek tradition preserves the name in pure Phoenician, only slightly altered to fit Greek morphological concepts. Moreover, unlike the Latin *Carthago*, the Greek rendering preserves intact the Phoenician words in their original form.

The source of the name *Καρχηδών* is *Kark-Hadaš* (כרך חדש) which also means "New City." *Kark-Hadaš* would appear in Greek as **Karchêdos*, (**Καρχηδος*) and, in keeping with Greek patterns, emerge as a city-name in the form known to us, *Καρχηδών*. We have, therefore, the Greek rendering of the Phoenician name for their city, *Kark-Hadaš* = *Karchêdôn* = New City.

Let us examine the occurrence of the word *Kark* in the Northwest Semitic languages and trace its penetration into that part of the world where the Greeks and the Phoenicians were interacting.

THE EVIDENCE FROM CANAANITE

The earliest occurrence of *krk* as a name for city is in Canaanite. However, the evidence comes to us indirectly from Egyptian lists of place-names in Canaan and adjacent lands in Western Asia. In a list of cities compiled by Ramesses II at Karnak, we find the designation of places in Palestine as *Krk*. In this list, other places are clearly designated as *Qrt*, so the distinction between *Krk* and *Qrt* was clear to the Egyptians.¹⁵

Another occurrence, in a list of Palestinian cities from the temple at Medinet Habu, dates from the reign of Ramesses III. Here he lists places in Canaan with the designation *Krk* as well as *Qrt*.¹⁶

THE EVIDENCE FROM ARAMAIC AND HEBREW

The earliest occurrence of *Krak* as "city" in Aramaic is in the Elephantine Papyri, where it occurs twice in the plural.¹⁷ In this particular instance, since the document is a dated letter, we can definitely establish the date of this occurrence as 412 B.C. The language of the documents is, of course, Persian Imperial Aramaic.

¹⁴ Michael C. Astour, in private communication, suggested that the distortion of the name *Qart-Hadašt* to *Carthago* should not be blamed on the Romans, who could be fairly faithful in their transcriptions of foreign words and names. He believes that the distortion should rather be laid at the doorstep of the Etruscans, who were notorious for their mispronunciation of foreign words. This is historically plausible, since the Etruscans were intimate with the western Phoenicians for centuries before the Romans rose to prominence, and their pronunciation of the name of Carthage could easily have been taken over by the Romans, the heirs to Etruscan power in Italy. See

also "Sefarad: The Name of Spain," in *JNES*, XXII (1963), 128-32.

¹⁵ J. Simons, *Handbook for the Study of Egyptian Topographical Lists Relating to Western Asia* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1937), pp. 157-59, esp. p. 157, List XIII, No. 10.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 164-69, List XVII, No. 99.

¹⁷ A. E. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri from the Fifth Century B.C.*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923), pp. 88-91. Also Eduard Sachau, *Aramäische Papyrus und Ostraka aus . . . Elephantine* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrich's, 1911), p. 44.

The word *kark-krak*, meaning "city," occurs frequently in Late Hebrew and in Aramaic, appearing in variant forms. It is often encountered in the Talmud and Midrash, which clearly distinguish different kinds of urban centers. The Hebrew term *kfar* can be translated as "small town," "village,"¹⁸ the word *ir* is the general word for "city," and normally refers to one of moderate size. *Krak* is the name applied to large cities, to metropolitan urban centers. Thus, the Talmud defines a *krak* as a city "where everything can be obtained."¹⁹

We find the word *karkâ* in Aramaic lapidary inscriptions as well as in literary sources of a transmitted tradition. In Aramaic, *karkâ* seems to be the normal word for a large, walled city. An inscription on a statue from Palmyra dedicated to a certain "Marcus Aelius Theodorus, who is called Shema'-Gad," reads as follows:²⁰ "Has been erected in his honor by the members of the caravan which came up from the City of Hispasina." In this inscription, the words for "City of Hispasina" are written as *Kark Ispasina*, and we know it to have been the great mercantile center at the mouth of the Tigris, called by the Greek writers *Χαράξ Σπασίνα* not far from the site of modern Basra.²¹

In Hebrew of the Hellenistic Period, particularly in the Tannaitic Literature, the word *krak* occurs frequently, the *Sifré* referring to Rome as a *krak*.²² Other occurrences are common in the Midrashim and in Medieval Hebrew.²³ In Aramaic Literature examples are too plentiful to enumerate. The term is found in the Targumim and in the Talmud as well as in Syriac. An interesting passage occurs in the Targum Onkelos to Num. 13:19, where the Aramaic Version translates "fortified cities" as *krakin*. Another instance indicates that seaports were called *krakei hayyam*.²⁴

Differences between urban settlements based on their size are defined in Mishnah Megillah,²⁵ which speaks of: "Cities (*krakin*) which have been encircled with a wall from the days of Joshua." This last passage throws light on the probable original meaning of the word *krak*, especially when seen in conjunction with an Aramaic inscription from Petra.²⁶ The Petra inscription, a funerary monument, describes: "This sepulchre, and the large vault within it. . . . And the wall in front of them. . . ." The word *karkâ* in this inscription means "the wall," and the use of the term "wall" to designate "city" is a not unusual semantic shift attested elsewhere in Semitic languages. The Syriac *karkâ* is used in the sense of "fortress, walled-city."²⁷

THE EVIDENCE FROM THE AEGEAN AREA

In July of 1962, Cyrus H. Gordon in an article in the *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*²⁸ gave a tentative decipherment and reading of three texts from Praisos on the island of

¹⁸ As in *Kfar-Nahum* (*Ecclesiastes Rabba* 1:6; 7:26), known as Capernaum in the New Testament, Matt. 4:13; 8:5-17; 9:1; 11:23, and Mark 1:21.

¹⁹ Babylonian Talmud, *Hullin*, 56b.

²⁰ Cooke, *North Semitic Inscriptions*, p. 272.

²¹ E.g., Josephus, *Antiquities*, XX, 2, 1-4.

²² *Sifré*, Deut., 52.

²³ Midrash *Shir Hashirim*, 1:4, 6; Rashi, *Commentary on Ketuboth*, 110a, where he defines *krak* as "larger than a city. A *krak* is a metropolis which serves as a central market place. All the inhabitants from the region round about gather there to do business and everything is found therein."

²⁴ Babylonian Talmud, *Rosh Hashanah*, 26a.

²⁵ Mishnah *Megillah*, I:1.

²⁶ Cooke, *North Semitic Inscriptions*, No. 94, Petra I, p. 241, and Cooke's translation thereof. The probable meaning of the word *karkâ* in this passage is "surrounding wall," "encircling wall." This may be the original meaning of the word *kark/krak*, derivative from the root "to bind, to encircle, to tie around." By derivation, a *krak/krak* would be a city, "bound, encircled by a wall."

²⁷ Robert Payne-Smith, ed., *Thesaurus Syriacus* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1870), vol. I, col. 1827, "locus cinctus muro; urbs munita"; col. 1829, as part of a proper name. Also *Supplement to the Thesaurus Syriacus*, ed. by Jessie Payne Margoliouth (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927), p. 172, left, "fort."

²⁸ Cyrus H. Gordon, "Eteocretan," in *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, XXI (July, 1962), 211-14.

Crete written in the Greek alphabet in a language hitherto unrecognized and called, for lack of certainty, "Eteocretan."

The language that Dr. Gordon read in these texts he recognized as a dialect of Northwest Semitic which, for lack of more specific characteristics, he identifies as "related to Phoenician," or simply "Northwest Semitic."

Gordon's interpretation of these texts as given in this article and in a subsequent study which appeared in *Supplements to Vetus Testamentum*,²⁹ yields, among other suggested readings and translations, the words κρκ and κρκ, which he reads as Hebrew-Aramaic כרך and translates "city." Another sequence of symbols is κρξ, which Gordon reads as כרך and translates "this city."

A reference to Gordon's decipherment of Eteocretan requires more than a word of explanation, since his readings of these texts are not generally accepted. On the contrary, many competent Semitists cannot agree that his readings and interpretations are proven beyond a doubt.³⁰ Nevertheless, this writer for one is convinced of the correctness of Gordon's hypothesis concerning the nature of Eteocretan, and is certain that further discovery and decipherment will establish the Phoenician character of the "Eteocretan" inscriptions.³¹

I proceed, therefore, on the basis of Gordon's readings, to refer to the language of the Eteocretan texts as Northwest Semitic, closely related to Phoenician, bearing in mind that we are not dealing here with the standard, classical language but with a dialect which had undergone extensive abrasion and development.

The Praisos Texts II and III contain the word *krk* with variant orthographies: unvocalized in the first instance, and appearing as *kark* and *karks* (κρκ, κρξ) in the next two. It would appear certain, therefore, that in the Northwest Semitic dialect spoken on Crete as we know it from the Praisos inscriptions—a language the Greeks would have called "Phoenician"³²—a word for "city" was *kark*.³³

If the city of Carthage was called *Qart-Hadašt* and *Kark-Hadaš*, did the Carthaginians themselves have any official preference? If they did, that would make no difference in the names as transmitted by the two traditions. The choice of name in popular usage depended solely on the dialect of the speaker. From the attitude which Phoenicians displayed towards place-names in their world, practical considerations were supreme; fine distinctions were superfluous.³⁴

²⁹ Cyrus H. Gordon, "The Mediterranean Factor in the Old Testament," in *Supplements to Vetus Testamentum*, IX (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1963), 19-31.

³⁰ Marvin Pope, in a review article in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, LXXXIII (1964), 76, observes that "more material will be needed to test the alleged Semitic character of the Minoan Linear A and Eteocretan texts."

³¹ The practice of writing the Phoenician language in alphabets other than the normal Phoenician is well established along the shores of the Mediterranean. The well-known inscription of El-Hofra, recording the Phoenician dialect of Carthage (Punic) in the Greek alphabet was published by Johannes Friedrich, "Punische Studien," in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, CVII (1957), 282-98. The Latino-Libyan Inscriptions are also an example; in this case, of Phoenician in Latin characters. See G. Levi Della Vida, "Sulle iscrizioni 'latino-libiche' della

Tripolitania," in *Oriens Antiquus*, II (1963), 65-94. The occurrence of the Punic passages in Plautus' *Poenulus* did not necessitate on the part of the playwright the invention of a new idea. Punic had before his time been written in the Latin alphabet. See Louis H. Gray, "The Punic Passages in 'Poenulus' of Plautus," in the *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, XXXIX (1923), 73-88.

³² Gordon, in "Eteocretan," in *JNES*, XXI (1962), 213.

³³ This is not to deny that the synonym קרת may also have been used in the dialect spoken on Crete. Gordon's proposed readings of Minoan, Linear A, in "Minoica," in the *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, XXI (July, 1962), 207, would read the word קרת in the Palaikastro Inscription, Text I.

³⁴ See "Phoenician Place-Names," in *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, XXIV (1965), 113-15.

Polybius, the historian of the Punic wars, knew that *Carchêdôn* meant "New City." In one passage in his *Histories*,³⁵ he refers to Carthage in Spain as "New City" (*καινήν πόλιν*). In another passage, however, he says of this same city which Hasdrubal built, "some people call it '*Carchêdôn*,' others call it '*New City*'" (*καινήν πόλιν*).³⁶

What does this apparent contradiction in Polybius mean? In the first passage cited he apparently can translate the name of the city from the Phoenician; in the second he seems not to know that *Carchêdôn* means "New City."

I believe the answer lies in the Phoenician attitude itself and in the variety of names applied to the city. In Polybius' own time Carthage was called *Carchêdôn* by the Greeks, *Carthago* by the Romans, and *qart-Ḥadašt* and *Kark-Ḥadaš* by the Phoenicians. However, those non-Semitic speakers who knew the city and the translation of its name called it by its translated rather than its native name. This would explain Polybius' *variae*.³⁷

We can see now why the Greeks used the name *Carchêdôn* for the Phoenician cities that were called "New City" and were also known as *Qart-Ḥadašt*; i.e., "Carthage." Although Phoenicians on Cyprus and in North Africa called their new towns by the name *Qart-Ḥadašt*, there were some among them who preferred the name *Kark-Ḥadaš*. In the Aegean area specifically, as the inscriptions from Crete indicate, the preferred term for "city" was *kark*, whereas *qart* might have been a secondary choice or rarely used. The Greeks, when they heard the name of the city which the Phoenicians called "New Town," heard the native population pronounce it *Kark-Ḥadaš*. *Kark-Ḥadaš* became *καρχηδος which became, in turn, *καρχηδών*.

Since the Greeks of the Aegean area first learned to call the Phoenician "New Town" *Carchêdôn*, from an original *Kark-Ḥadaš*, they applied it to other cities that bore the same name, though the preference on the part of these other Phoenicians (in North Africa, for example) may have been for *Qart-Ḥadašt*, the source of the Latin *Carthago*. The Phoenicians on Crete continued to speak their native language—as evidenced by the inscriptions from Praisos, from Psychro, and from Dreros³⁸—down into the Hellenistic period. They were intimate with their Greek neighbors, became bilingual, speaking Phoenician and Greek, and even used the Greek alphabet to write their own Phoenician language. It was here, in the Aegean world, that the Greeks learned the name of the city *Carchêdôn*.

³⁵ *Histories*, III, 15, 3.

³⁶ *Histories*, II, 13, 1.

³⁷ This is a rather common phenomenon. In the *barrio* of New York City, the Spanish-speaking community, predominantly of Puerto Rican origin, refer to their city as "Nueva York," or as "New York," using either the original English form or translating it into their native Spanish. Both pronunciations can

be heard scores of times daily on the three radio stations broadcasting Spanish language programs in New York City.

³⁸ Gordon's publication of the bilingual text from Dreros provides a key which can be used to check the decipherment originally proposed in *JNES*, Vol. XXI (see note 28 above). See his article, "The Dreros Bilingual," in the *Journal of Semitic Studies*, VIII (1963), 76-79.

SCARABS AND SCARAB IMPRESSIONS FROM SHECHEM—II

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IN an earlier article in this Journal eighteen scarabs from the pre-war excavations of Shechem in Jordan were published together with twenty scarabs found during the 1956, 1957, and 1960 campaigns of the Drew-McCormick Archaeological Expedition of Shechem.¹ The present article presents nine scarabs, four scarab fragments, and five scarab impressions found during the excavations of Shechem in 1962 and 1964.²

Of these eighteen scarabs and scarab impressions, fourteen can with reasonable certainty be attributed to the Hyksos period and two to the New Kingdom. Six of the Hyksos scarabs (Nos. 40, 48, 51) and impressions (Nos. 44, 46, 50) were found in archeological strata of the Hyksos period and can therefore be dated not only by their design but also by archeological context. The other specimens of the Hyksos period (Nos. 39, 41–43, 45, 47, 49, 52) came either from much later strata or from an undefined archeological context.

Since the unreliability of scarabs for dating archeological strata has already been discussed in the earlier article on the Shechem scarabs, the reader is referred to that article.³ The two seasons of excavations, which have provided the material for this second article, have again demonstrated the fact, already pointed out, that Shechem lay off the main-stream of Egyptian influence, although it was an important political and religious city in central Palestine. The great paucity of Egyptian-type objects at Shechem, such as scarabs, which, in contrast to Shechem, are found in great number in ancient Palestinian cities of the coastal areas, of the Shephelah and of the plain of Megiddo, clearly proves that Palestinian mountain cities such as Shechem had few connections with Egypt.⁴

In the following discussion the eighteen scarabs and scarab impressions, arranged chronologically as far as possible, are numbered 39–56. These numbers follow the scarabs numbered 1–38 published in the previous article. The publication number is followed in parenthesis by the excavation numbers, which consist first of the symbol B62 or B64 designating "Balaṭāh 1962" and "Balaṭāh 1964" respectively, and then of the number of the object registry.

39. (B62, No. 181) A scarab of white steatite, *ca.* 15 × 10 mm. in size, found July 9, 1962, in an exploratory cut (Area 2) in Field VI. It came to light at the bottom of

¹ Horn, "Scarabs from Shechem," *JNES*, XXI (1962), 1–14. The photographs of the scarabs of the 1957 campaign were taken by James T. Stuart, and those of the 1960 campaign by Lee C. Ellenberger, staff photographer of the Shechem expedition in 1960, 1962, and 1964. Apologies are made for having failed to mention them in the earlier article. All photographs of the present article with the exception of our Fig. 2 were made by Ellenberger. The drawings of Fig. 1 are the work of my secretary, Florence A. Sangerloo.

² Gratitude is herewith expressed to Professor G.

Ernest Wright of Harvard University, the director of the Drew-McCormick Archaeological Expedition of Shechem, for permitting me to study and publish the scarabs presented in this article. I also want to thank Professor John A. Wilson of the University of Chicago for helpful suggestions received while discussing the readings of several scarabs, though I am solely responsible for the conclusions reached and possible errors.

³ Horn, *op. cit.*, pp. 13, 14.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 1, 2.

Locus 22 in a pottery context of Chalcolithic, MB, and LB sherds. The base is lightly incised and contains the hieroglyphs *nsw bit nbw*, "King of Upper and Lower Egypt, of gold." The *nbw*-sign is probably an abbreviation of the royal title *Hr nbw*, "Horus of Gold." Scarabs bearing the same inscription, usually assigned to the Thirteenth Dynasty or to the Hyksos period, have been found in Egypt,⁵ and at the following sites in Palestine: *Tell el-'Ajjûl*,⁶ *Tell es-Safi*,⁷ the southern *Tell el-Farah*,⁸ and Lachish,⁹ and without the *nsw*-sign at Megiddo¹⁰ and Gezer.¹¹ The *nsw*-sign standing reversed in relation to the *bit*-hieroglyph reveals that this scarab was cut during the Hyksos period. On both sides of the inscription is a space-filling design of curved lines. The back of the scarab is of a very common design, often found on scarabs from the Twelfth Dynasty to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty.

40. (B62, No. 163) A scarab fragment consisting of the major part of its back. It is of white steatite, originally *ca.* 16 × 12 mm. in size. It was found July 6, 1962, in Field VI, above Street 6 (which represents the 902-phase of the palace)¹² in a context of MB II B pottery (*ca.* 1750–1650 B.C.). Clypeus and head are missing, but the prothorax and elytra are preserved. They have their closest parallels in Nos. 73 and 74 of Pl. XXXIV of Rowe's classification tables. No. 73 is labeled by Rowe as a type which appears from *ca.* Thirteenth–Twenty-second Dynasty, while No. 74, the type most closely resembling the Shechem scarab fragment, is said to appear from *ca.* Fourteenth Dynasty to the Hyksos period. There can be no doubt that this scarab fragment is contemporary with the stratum in which it was found, *i.e.*, the early Hyksos period.

41. (B64, No. 501) Fragment of a white steatite scarab. It was found July 7, 1964, in Field III, Locus 805, together with pottery of the Chalcolithic period and MB II B–C (*ca.* 1750–1550 B.C.) sherds. The remains of the back show that it was a Hyksos scarab, for the prothorax has a spiral decoration which occurs only during the Hyksos period.¹³ So little is preserved of the base and its design that nothing can be said of them.

42. (B62, No. 476) A scarab of coarse blue fayence, *ca.* 21 × 16 mm. in size, found August 1, 1962, in Field IX, Area 1, in an ashy debris together with pottery of Strata IX–VII of the ninth–eighth century B.C. The scarab, which is 11.5 mm. thick and damaged on the back, is very lightly incised. Its design shows an individual, whether a god, king, or man is uncertain. He seems to walk and is possibly shown as lifting up his right arm to smash an imaginary enemy, as the Egyptian king is so often depicted on monumental reliefs. No close parallels to this scarab have been found among published Palestinian scarabs. However, those depicting a standing or walking individual are all assigned to the Hyksos period by Rowe,¹⁴ and it is safe to consider the Shechem scarab as belonging to the same period. The *nh*-sign, drawn at the left, is not certain.

⁵ W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Buttons and Design Scarabs* (London, 1925), Pl. X, No. 493; P. E. Newberry, *Scarab-Shaped Seals* ("Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire" [London, 1907]), Pl. XI, Nos. 36556, 36559, 36750, assigned either to the Twelfth Dynasty or to the Hyksos period.

⁶ Petrie, *Ancient Gaza IV* (London, 1934), Pls. VI, VII, No. 193; Alan Rowe, *A Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs, Scaraboids, Seals and Amulets in the Palestine Archaeological Museum* (Cairo, 1936), No. 34.

⁷ F. J. Bliss et al., *Excavations in Palestine 1898–1900* (London, 1902), Pl. 83, No. 26; Rowe, *op. cit.*, No. 37.

⁸ Petrie, *Beth-Pelet I* (London, 1930), Pl. X, No. 80; Rowe, *op. cit.*, No. 39.

⁹ Olga Tufnell et al., *Lachish IV* (London, 1958), Pls. 32, 33, No. 79; this scarab is attributed to the Fifteenth–Sixteenth Dynasties.

¹⁰ Rowe, *op. cit.*, No. 36.

¹¹ R. A. S. Macalister, *The Excavation of Gezer* (London, 1912), II, 316, No. 88; III, Pl. CCIV B, No. 26; Rowe, *op. cit.*, No. 38.

¹² L. E. Toombs and G. E. Wright, *BASOR*, No. 169 (February, 1963), pp. 41–44.

¹³ Rowe, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXXIV, No. 98, cf. also Nos. 70, 72, 76, 77.

¹⁴ Rowe, *op. cit.*, Nos. 245, 246, 248, 276–93.

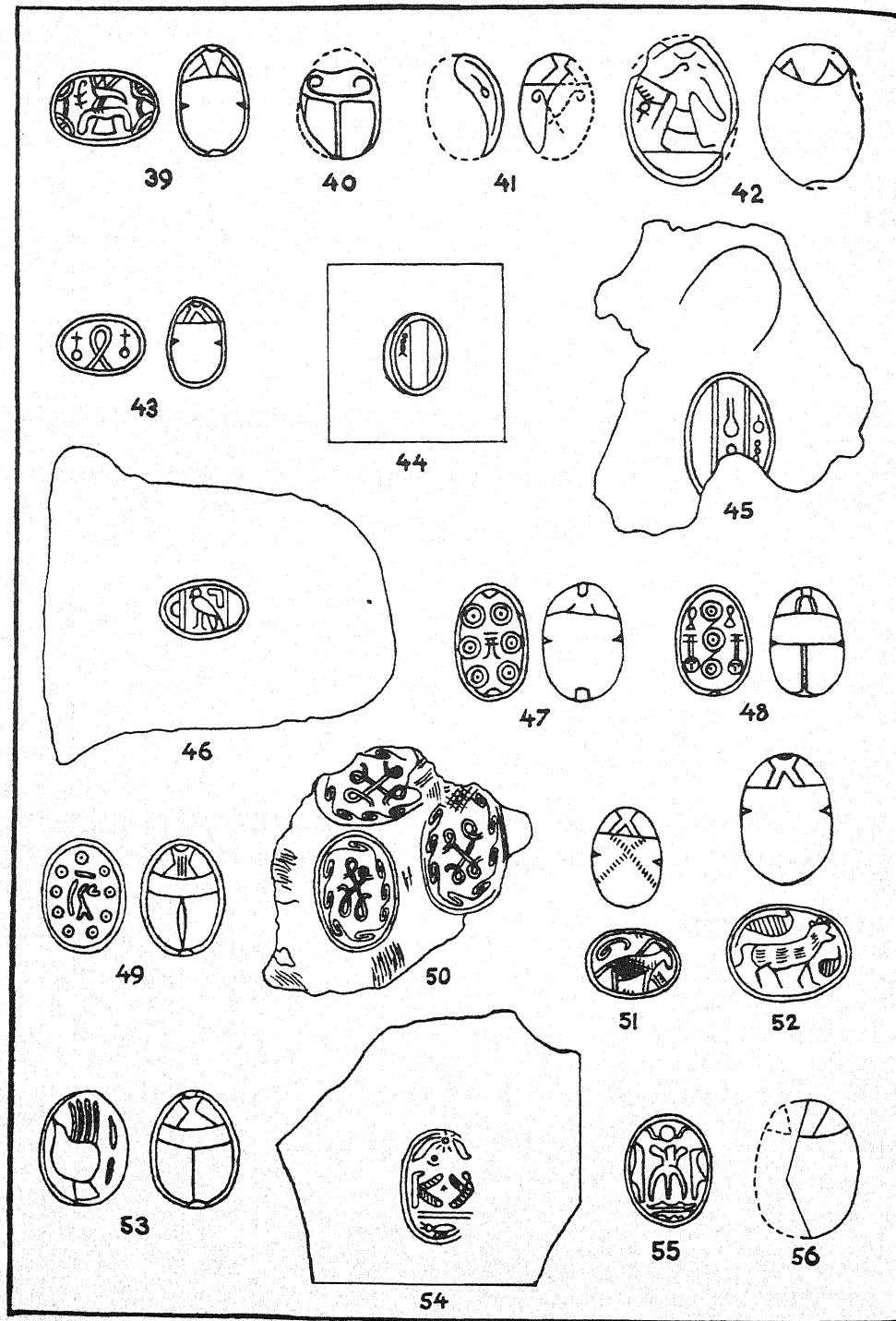
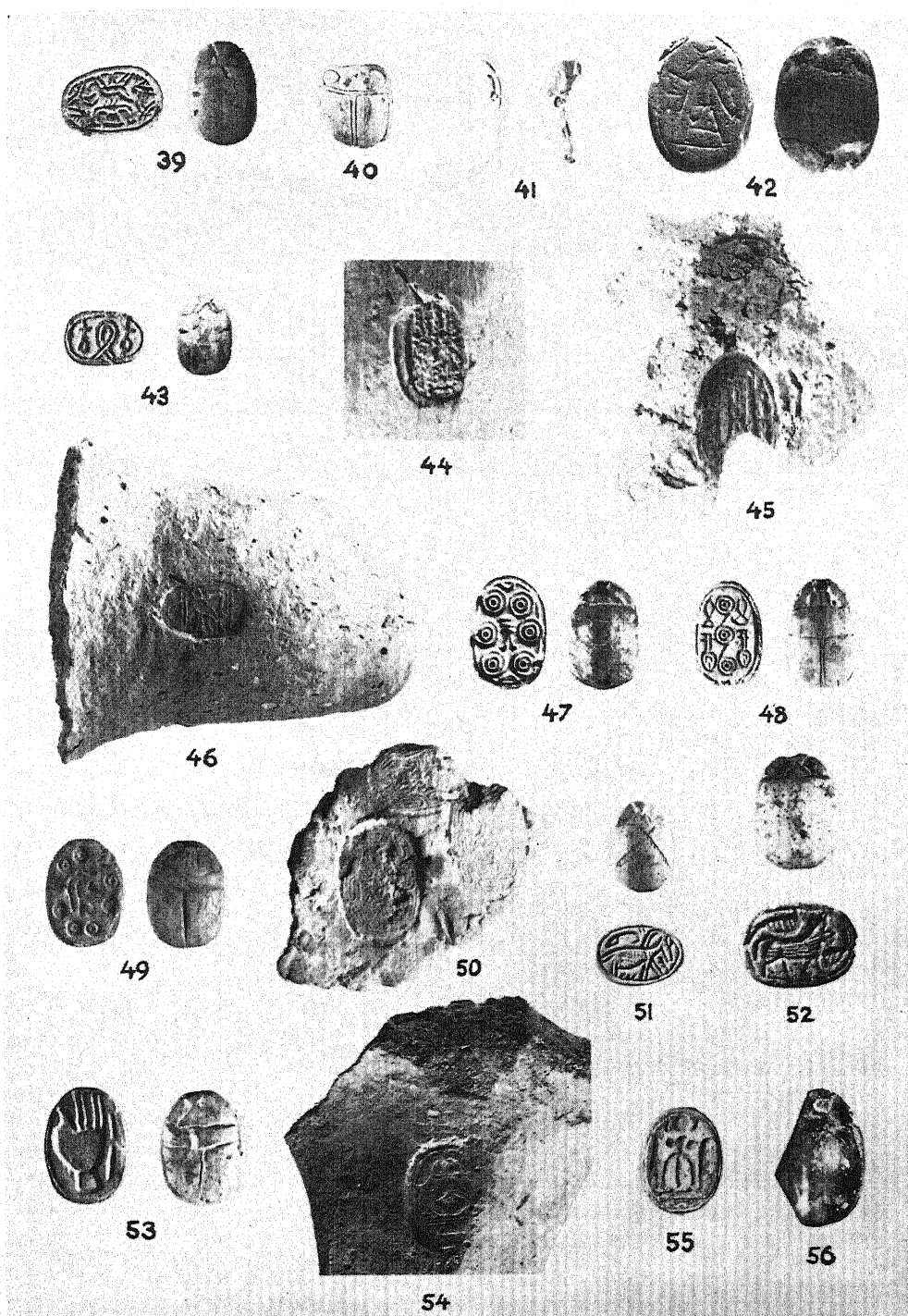


FIG. 1. Scarabs and scarab impressions from Shechem discovered by the Drew-McCormick Archaeological Expedition of 1962 and 1964. Actual size.



SCARABS AND SCARAB IMPRESSIONS FROM SHECHEM DISCOVERED BY THE DREW-McCORMICK
 ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXPEDITION OF 1962 AND 1964. APPROXIMATELY ACTUAL SIZE.
 PHOTOGRAPHS BY LEE C. ELLENBERGER

43. (B62, No. 73) A scarab of white steatite, *ca.* 12 × 8 mm. in size, found July 2, 1962, on the surface of a dump of Sellin's pre-war excavations. The design lightly incised in the base marks it as a product of the Hyksos period. It shows within a ring two *nfr*-signs flanking a "loop" which in turn may be a substitute for *s3*, "protection," or for *w3h*, "endurance."¹⁵ The *nfr*-signs on Hyksos scarabs are exceedingly common, and the central loop is also found on many Hyksos scarabs—one found at *Tell el-'Ajjûl* has two loops and the typical "Hyksos-sides."¹⁶ The closest parallel to the Shechem scarab is one coming also from *Tell el-'Ajjûl*. It has two *nfr*-signs enclosed by oval rings flanking a loop.¹⁷

44. (B64, No. 481) A seal impression on a complete jar handle, found August 1, 1964, in Field IX, Area 4. The handle is a good MB II B specimen (*ca.* 1750–1650 B.C.), and comes from a sealed MB layer. The deep impression was made by a scarab, *ca.* 12 × 8 mm. in size. In fact, it can clearly be seen that first a lighter impression was made of which the remains show up in the picture to the left of the deep and final impression. This final impression is not well formed and of the design not much can be recognized. It is clear, however, that the base of the scarab was divided into three vertical fields by two vertical lines. The fields are filled with long hieroglyphs of which only a *h* in the upper left corner can be recognized with any degree of certainty. The Shechem scarabs Nos. 27 and 31¹⁸ can serve as samples for this type of scarab, which are clearly recognizable products of the Hyksos period.¹⁹

45. (B64, No. 276) A fragment of a clay object containing two imperfect seal impressions, probably made by one or two scarabs. It was found July 15, 1964, in Field III, Locus 729, below the lowest cobbled floor (= 718) along City Wall B in a MB II B–C (*ca.* 1750–1550 B.C.) pottery context. Whether the object was part of the cover of a vessel or had served to seal a document cannot be ascertained. It is possible that two different scarabs were used for the impressions, because the upper impression, of which only traces can be seen, is 13 mm. wide, while the lower impression, somewhat better preserved, is 12 mm. wide. The lower impression was made by means of a Hyksos scarab, of which the base was divided into three long fields by two vertical lines. Each field was filled with long-shaped hieroglyphs. These hieroglyphs are blurred; in the center field a *nfr*-sign is recognizable and in the right field a *h*-sign.

46. (B64, No. 506) A seal impression, probably made from a scarab, on a jar handle. The handle was found August 7, 1964, in Field III under Floor 550 between the fortification Walls A and B. The pottery is consistently MB II C (*ca.* 1650–1550 B.C.), mixed with a little earlier ware, hence comes from the Hyksos period. The scarab used for the impression was *ca.* 12 × 8 mm. in size. The design shows a bird in the center, possibly a hawk or falcon, representing "Horus." Behind it is a hieroglyphic sign which seems to be the corner-piece (Gardiner, *Grammar*, Sign-list 0 38), used as an ideogram of *knbt*, "magistrates." Hence, the inscription may have designated a royal title, "Magistrates of Horus"?²⁰ However, it is more likely that this corner-piece is a corrupt *ntr*-sign,²¹ and thus represents merely the determinative of *Hr*, "Horus." Whether the semicircular

¹⁵ See Rowe, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

¹⁶ Petrie, *Ancient Gaza III* (London, 1933), Pls. IV, V, No. 133.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, Pls. III, V, No. 70.

¹⁸ Horn, *op. cit.*, pp. 10, 11.

¹⁹ For other examples cf. Rowe, *op. cit.*, Nos. 171, 172, 214, 219, 220, etc.

²⁰ See *Wb*, V, 53.

²¹ Rowe (*op. cit.*, pp. 45–47, Nos. 169–76) considers all these corner-pieces as corrupt *ntr*-hieroglyphs.

objects depicted at both ends of the central design are merely space fillers is difficult to say. The one to the right looks like the *nb*-sign, "lord," put on its side, but no suggestion can be made for the possible connection with any known hieroglyph of the left sign, unless it is a corrupt *nbw*-sign, "gold." Since the scarab is undoubtedly a product of the Hyksos period, possibly made in Palestine, no great value can be placed on the occurrence of hieroglyphs on objects such as scarabs.

47. (B64, No. 478) A scarab of gray steatite, *ca.* 16 × 11 mm. in size. It was found August 4, 1964, in Field VII, Area 5, below the level of the footing of Wall 14.128 of Stratum X, therefore belonging to Stratum XI (tenth century B.C.). The pottery found with it reached from the LB period to the tenth-century Stratum XI. The scarab has a common back that is found on scarabs from the Twelfth to the Twenty-sixth Dynasties. The base has a deeply incised design of six concentric rings surrounding a *ḏd*-sign, "stability," in the center. This design is extremely frequent on Hyksos scarabs, and examples of it have come from Egypt,²² and from the following places in Palestine: *Tell el-ʿAjjûl*,²³ Megiddo,²⁴ Gezer,²⁵ Lachish,²⁶ Jericho,²⁷ Shechem,²⁸ and *Tell Jemmeh*.²⁹ The number of circles greatly varies on different specimens. Hanns Stock puts scarabs with concentric circles in the second half of the First Intermediate Period,³⁰ a view with which H. Otto agrees, who assigns the scarabs with concentric circles from *Tell el-ʿAjjûl* and the southern *Tell el-Farah* to the MB II B period (*ca.* 1750–1650 B.C.) or later.³¹ Stock says that the *ḏd*-hieroglyph expresses the desire for durability on the part of the owner.³² The Shechem scarab can be assigned to the late Hyksos period, though it remained in use for at least seven centuries before it was lost in Stratum X.

48. (B64, No. 570) A scarab of white steatite, *ca.* 15 × 10 mm. in size. It was found August 13, 1964, in Field I on the stairway leading from the western exit of the East Gate down to the ancient city. It lay on the sixth step from the top and was associated with MB II C pottery (*ca.* 1650–1550 B.C.). The back has common features found from the Thirteenth to the Nineteenth Dynasties. The base, lightly incised, carries a design which stamps this scarab as a product of the Hyksos period. The center shows three connected concentric circles, for which many examples exist among published scarabs.³³ At the lower right and left are *nfr*-signs, and above them *hm*-signs (though the right one has an odd form), which according to Rowe were used on Hyksos scarabs to represent the *wḥ*-sign, "endurance."³⁴

49. (B62, No. 304) A scarab of white steatite, *ca.* 16 × 12 mm. in size. It was found July 17, 1962, in Field VII, Area 7, in an unstratified fill, which contained pottery ranging from the eighth to the fifth centuries B.C. The base is lightly incised with nine concentric circles and a central design. The incisions show traces of red paint or an inlay of red paste. The design within the circles looks like a hieratic inscription, which is almost

²² Newberry, *Scarabs* (London, 1906), Pl. XX, No. 25; *Scarab-Shaped Seals*, Pl. XIV, No. 36703; Petrie, *Buttons and Design Scarabs*, Pl. VIII, Nos. 207–17; Pl. XVI, No. 1100; Pl. XIX, No. 1526.

²³ Petrie *et al.*, *Ancient Gaza V* (London, 1952), Pl. X, Nos. 175, 176.

²⁴ Rowe, *op. cit.*, Nos. 78, 384; Gordon Loud, *Megiddo II* (Chicago, 1948), Pl. 150, No. 101.

²⁵ Rowe, *op. cit.*, Nos. 75, 383.

²⁶ Rowe, *op. cit.*, No. 76.

²⁷ Rowe, *op. cit.*, Nos. 77, 79, 386.

²⁸ Horn, *op. cit.*, Fig. 1, No. 9.

²⁹ Petrie, *Gerar* (London, 1928), Pl. XVII, No. 11.

³⁰ Hanns Stock, *Studien zur Geschichte und Archäologie der 13. bis 17. Dynastie Ägyptens* (Glückstadt, 1955), pp. 15, 25, 26.

³¹ H. Otto, *ZDPV*, LXI (1938), 255–57.

³² Stock, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

³³ Cf. the scarabs depicted by Petrie in *Buttons and Design Scarabs*, Pl. VIII, Nos. 207, 209, 210, 212; *Ancient Gaza IV*, Pl. V, No. 141.

³⁴ Rowe, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

identical to one found on a scarab from Megiddo,³⁵ showing that the two scarabs came from the same workshop. However, all efforts to read these two inscriptions have so far failed, and one must therefore assume that the engraver was illiterate and imitated a text in such a poor way that its original meaning was lost. Since practically all scarabs with concentric circles surrounding hieroglyphs date from the Second Intermediate Period,³⁶ it seems certain that the Shechem specimen, just as that from Megiddo, comes from the Hyksos Period.³⁷

50. (B64, No. 325) Three scarab impressions on a clay bottle stopper. It was found July 17, 1964, in Field III under the lowest level of the glacis which runs between fortification Walls A and B, but nearer to B than to A, in a sealed MB II C context (*ca.* 1650–1550 B.C.). The object shows that the moist clay had been pressed into the mouth of the vessel, after which the surface of the lump was smoothed with the hand, since finger prints are clearly visible. Finally a scarab was impressed on several places in the soft clay. One complete impression and two incomplete impressions have been preserved. The scarab used for the impressions was *ca.* 17 × 11 mm. in size and its base was rather lightly incised. The center design shows a cord pattern with curled ends.³⁸ This is surrounded by a scroll design that is very common on Hyksos scarabs.³⁹ However, the combination of a cord pattern and a surrounding scroll design seems to be extraordinary, and no parallel case has been found among the published scarabs. In an exceptional case a scroll pattern is surrounded by another scroll design, as on two scarabs found at *Tell el-ʿAjjûl*,⁴⁰ but no cord pattern surrounded by a scroll design. Nevertheless, the component parts of the design are so typical for the Hyksos period that its assignment to that period is certain. This is also supported by the archeological context in which the object was found.

51. (B64, No. 16) A scarab of ivory, *ca.* 13 × 9 mm. in size, found July 1, 1964, in Field III, west of the fortification Wall B in the brick residue of the destruction of the Hyksos fortifications. By means of the pottery context this destruction level can be dated to the MB II C period (*ca.* 1650–1550 B.C.). The back of the scarab shows a cross design on the elytra. All parallel examples of such an elytra are assigned by Rowe to the Hyksos period.⁴¹ The base shows an animal, which may be an ibex or wild goat, with some grass under its belly, and possibly a plant under its neck. Whether the sign in the upper left is the ʕ-sign, "great," is questionable, although it is possible, since inverted ʕ hieroglyphs on scarabs of this period frequently stand for ʕ, "great." A similar specimen was found at *Tell el-ʿAjjûl*, of which the design is explained by Rowe possibly to stand for ʕ *nrrw*, "great of terror."⁴² Scarabs with similar designs have been found in Egypt,⁴³ and in Palestine at *Tell el-ʿAjjûl*⁴⁴ and Lachish.⁴⁵

³⁵ Loud, *op. cit.*, Pl. 152, No. 199.

³⁶ See Rowe, *op. cit.*, Nos. 76–79, 215, 250, 381–86.

³⁷ Cf. also the scarabs containing concentric circles in Petrie, *Buttons and Design Scarabs*, Pl. VIII, Nos. 207–17, of which No. 215 has the typical "Hyksos-sides."

³⁸ Somewhat similar cord patterns are found on scarabs depicted by Petrie, *Buttons and Design Scarabs*, Pl. VIII, Nos. 158–70, but this writer has been unable to find a really close parallel to the Shechem scarab impression among the published scarabs.

³⁹ For a classification of the scroll designs and scroll patterns see Petrie, *Buttons and Design Scarabs*, pp. 13, 14; Pls. VII–IX.

⁴⁰ Petrie, *Ancient Gaza I* (London, 1931), Pl. XIV, No. 121; *Ancient Gaza V*, Pls. X, XLII, No. 133.

⁴¹ Rowe, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXXIV, Nos. 94–96, 103.

⁴² Petrie, *Ancient Gaza IV*, Pls. X, XI, No. 451; Rowe, *op. cit.*, p. 80, No. 310.

⁴³ Newberry, *Scarabs*, Pl. XXV, No. 21, assigned to the Hyksos Period; Petrie, *Buttons and Design Scarabs*, Pl. XIV, Nos. 867, 868; Pl. XVIII, No. 1399.

⁴⁴ Petrie, *Ancient Gaza III*, Pl. IV, No. 163; *Ancient Gaza IV*, Pl. XI, No. 405; *Ancient Gaza V*, Pl. X, Nos. 116–18.

⁴⁵ Tufnell *et al.*, *op. cit.*, Pls. 35, 36, No. 224. This scarab is attributed to the Eighteenth Dynasty, which may be possible, though in my opinion it comes from the late Hyksos Period.

52. (B64, No. 575) A scarab of gray steatite, *ca.* 19 × 13 mm. in size, found August 13, 1964, in Field VII, Area 2, in a Stratum XI context (tenth century B.C.). The back is rather common. Parallels to it are found from the Thirteenth to the Twenty-sixth Dynasties. The base shows an animal, probably a bull, facing right. It seems that the bull is depicted with his head lifted up and bellowing. The sign above the bull's back looks like an uraeus on its side. The sign under the animal's head is unrecognizable. Scarabs with bulls depicted have come to light in Egypt⁴⁶ and also at Lachish,⁴⁷ and a seal with a bull engraved was found at *Tell el-'Ajjûl*.⁴⁸ Whether the bull represents the sacred Apis of Egypt or the Canaanite gods El or Ba'al, both of which are called "bulls" in the Ugaritic literature,⁴⁹ cannot be ascertained. There can be no doubt that the Shechem scarab here discussed originated in the Hyksos period, although it remained in use for several centuries, since it was found in a tenth-century stratum of the ancient city.

53. (B62, No. 528) A scarab of white steatite, *ca.* 17 × 12 mm. in size, found August 6, 1962, in Field VII. It came from a ninth-century B.C. fill which was introduced in the Stratum IX B houses after their destruction, caused either by a war or by an earthquake.⁵⁰ On the base a left human hand, if viewed as a palm, is deeply incised. To the right are two lines. The encircling ring is visible only on the left and upper sides. Scarabs showing a hand engraved on the base seem to be relatively rare. Newberry lists two such specimens in the Cairo Museum,⁵¹ of which he dates one (No. 36350) in the early Eighteenth Dynasty with a question mark, and the other (No. 37149) in the Nineteenth Dynasty or later. Another such scarab, now in the possession of Mrs. H. H. Blasdale of San Francisco (see our Fig. 2),⁵² shows more similarities with the Shechem scarab than



FIG. 2

with the Cairo Museum scarabs. There is a symbol on each side of the wrist. They look like *t*-signs or small *nb*-signs and defy an explanation, just as the lines on the Shechem scarab cannot be explained.

Since scarabs were not only seals but to a great extent amulets, one should look for a symbolic meaning of the engraved hand. In Hazor, a shrine was excavated which in its fourteenth-thirteenth century stratum brought to light several stelae. One of these contains a relief representing two hands stretched upward in a gesture of supplication

⁴⁶ Petrie, *Buttons and Design Scarabs*, Pl. XIII, Nos. 852, 853; Newberry, *Scarab-Shaped Seals*, Pl. VII, No. 36406.

⁴⁷ Tufnell *et al.*, *op. cit.*, Pls. 35, 36, Nos. 227, 228.

⁴⁸ Petrie, *Ancient Gaza II* (London, 1932), Pl. VII, No. 39.

⁴⁹ On El as bull in Ugaritic literature see M. H. Pope, *El in the Ugaritic Texts* (Leiden, 1955), p. 35; on Ba'al as a bull in Ugaritic texts see A. S. Kapelrud, *Baal in the Ras Shamra Texts* (Copenhagen, 1952), pp. 20, 21.

⁵⁰ Toombs and Wright, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-44. It may

be noted in this connection that three specimens depicted in Fig. 18 on p. 41, Nos. 1, 3 and 4, and labeled "Seals of the scaraboid type" are scarabs and not scaraboids, and that No. 4 is shown upside-down.

⁵¹ Newberry, *Scarab-Shaped Seals*, pp. 88, 288, Pl. XIV. The scarab depicted as No. 23 on Pl. XLII in Newberry's *Scarabs* seems to be No. 36350 of the Cairo Museum Catalogue.

⁵² I thank Mrs. Blasdale for the permission to publish this scarab, and for the photographs used for Fig. 2 which she kindly provided.

to a deity, whose symbol consists of the sun disk surrounded on the three sides by the crescent of the moon.⁵³ As Yadin has already observed,⁵⁴ this stela reminds one of the numerous stelae from Carthage of a much later date, which also show hands outstretched in supplication, carved on tombstones.⁵⁵ It is therefore possible that the hand scarabs fall into the same tradition and were worn by their owners, perhaps women, to represent a form of supplication to the deity, possibly to obtain offspring.

The back of the Shechem scarab with its divided elytra, semi-circular prothorax, and rather schematically indicated head and clypeus puts this specimen probably in the late period. Parallels to the sides come from the Thirteenth–Twenty-sixth Dynasties. A post-Hyksos date must be considered as certain.

54. (B62, No. 541) An impression on a jar handle, found August 6, 1962, in Field VII, Area 22, between Terrace Wall 21.017 and Stratum VII–Wall 21.015. The handle belonging to the Iron II Age was found in a pottery context of Strata VIII–VII (eighth century B.C.). The impression, ca. 16 mm. long, is not quite complete, though most of the design is discernible. At the top it shows a winged sun disk. Underneath two pairs of tiny objects are depicted; those at the right are not recognizable, but those at the left seem to be the sun and the crescent of the moon. The center portion shows two winged creatures spreading their wings over an unknown object between them, after the fashion of tutelary deities on ancient Egyptian shrines. Between them and the bottom design are two horizontal lines; under these lines is a creeping hornet or locust.

Parallels to this design on scarabs come usually from the New Kingdom period. A scarab in the Cairo Museum shows two winged hawks on both sides of a cartouche containing the name of Amenhotep II, with a *nb*-sign underneath.⁵⁶ Another scarab from Abydos has a similar design in the lower register with the name of Rameses II in the cartouche.⁵⁷ Other scarabs with similar designs with the names of Thutmose III,⁵⁸ Amenhotep II,⁵⁹ Amenhotep III,⁶⁰ and Seti I⁶¹ are in the British Museum. A locust was depicted on the lower part of a scaraboid found at Megiddo.⁶² The design clearly assigns the scarab used for the impression on the Shechem jar handle to the New Kingdom (sixteenth–thirteenth century B.C.). That its impression is found on an eighth-century jar demonstrates how long scarabs remained in use, and that they are therefore poor criteria for dating an archeological context.⁶³

55. (B62, No. 511) A completely preserved base of a scarab of white steatite, ca. 15 × 12 mm. in size, of which the back is broken off. It was found August 3, 1962, in Field IX together with pottery of Strata X–VIII intermixed with some Iron I sherds. Locus 9823, in which it came to light, is dated to the ninth century B.C. Deeply incised in the base are the hieroglyphs *R^c-ms-s-s*, “Rameses,” in a perpendicular column. This name is flanked on the right by the *m³t*-sign, “truth,” and on the left by a clear reed-leaf, although the sign may be a poorly cut *m³t*-sign, perhaps due to a seal cutter’s error.

⁵³ Yigael Yadin et al., *Hazor I* (Jerusalem, 1958), p. 89, Pl. XXIX.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ *CIS*, I, Nos. 208, 210, 215, 238, 240, 250, 254, 257, 259, etc.

⁵⁶ Newberry, *Scarab-Shaped Seals*, Pl. IV, No. 36204.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, Pl. V, No. 36257.

⁵⁸ H. R. Hall, *Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs . . . in the British Museum* (London, 1913), p. 138, No. 1407.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 164, No. 1662.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 184, No. 1841.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 204, No. 2032.

⁶² W. E. Staples, “An Inscribed Scaraboid,” in P. L. O. Guy, *New Light From Armageddon* (“Oriental Institute Communication,” No. 9 [Chicago, 1931]), pp. 49–68; see especially Staples’ discussion of the locust on seals and on other monuments on pp. 61–67.

⁶³ See the remarks made in the first article on the Shechem scarabs, Horn, *op. cit.*, p. 13, n. 86.

Several scarabs with the name Rameses have been found in Egypt⁶⁴ and in Palestine. One of the Palestinian specimens was found in a level of Seti I at Beth-shean, two in LB-I₁ context in Beth-shemesh, and one is of unknown provenance.⁶⁵ Usually these Rameses-scarabs are attributed to Rameses I, since the scarabs of the later Rameses usually bear the prenomen instead of the nomina. But scarabs with the prenomen of Rameses I, *Mn-phṯy-R^c*, are also known,⁶⁶ which weakens the argument. Therefore editors of such Rameses scarabs have all voiced a note of caution or uncertainty in their identification of these scarabs. Rowe does the same with regard to three of the four Rameses-scarabs found in Palestine, excepting only No. 658, found by him in a Seti I stratum of Beth-shean.⁶⁷ If that stratum is correctly attributed to the time of Seti I, it would remove all doubts with regard to the dating of the Rameses scarabs. However, it is strange that so many of these scarabs should have turned up from a king who reigned hardly more than one year. Hence, it is possible that the "Rameses" scarabs should not be limited to the first bearer of that name.

56. (B62, No. 119) A scarab fragment of glass, violet in color, 19.5 mm. in length, with a thickness of 9.5 mm. It was found July 4, 1962, in Field VII, Area 22, in a third-century stratum that contained pottery from the Late Iron Age down to the middle of the third century B.C. The base was not incised. Since it has no characteristic features to date it, it is impossible to suggest an accurate date for this scarab, although it seems to be a rather late specimen.

⁶⁴ Petrie, *Scarabs and Cylinders with Names* (London, 1917), Pl. XXXVIII, Nos. 8-11; Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 200 Nos. 1990, 1991; Newberry, *Scarabs*, Pl. XXXIV, No. 13; H. Gauthier, *Livre des rois* (Cairo, 1914), III, 5, 6, Nos. XIX-XXIII.

⁶⁵ Rowe, *op. cit.*, Nos. 658-61.

⁶⁶ George Fraser, *A Catalogue of the Scarabs Be-*

longing to George Fraser (London, 1900), p. 37, Nos. 294, 295; Hall, *op. cit.*, pp. 200, 201, Nos. 1995-2003; Petrie, *Scarabs and Cylinders*, Pl. XXXVIII, Nos. 1-5; Gauthier, *op. cit.*, p. 5, Nos. XI-XVI.

⁶⁷ Rowe, *op. cit.*, p. 157, No. 658; Rowe, *The Four Canaanite Temples of Beth-Shan* (Philadelphia, 1940), I, 13.

HECATAEUS AND HERODOTUS ON "A GIFT OF THE RIVER"¹

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It may be questioned whether a geography lesson on Egypt is ever given anywhere without including the statement that "Egypt is the gift of the Nile." The earliest recorded verbal form of this statement appears in Herodotus, 2. 5:

Any sensible person sees at once, even if he has not heard a word about it before, that the Egypt to which the Greeks sail is land acquired by the Egyptians and a gift of the river, and also the region above this lake (i.e. the Lake of Moeris) as far as three days' sail, a region which they (the Egyptian priests mentioned in chaps. 3 and 4) did not characterize thus at all, though it is exactly the same kind of country.

In popular usage this statement about "a gift of the river (Nile)"² has been extended to refer to the whole of Egypt. Occasionally the extension of meaning is found also among ancient writers. Arrian, *Anab.* 5. 6. 5 states that both Herodotus and Hecataeus (if the latter, he adds, be the author of τὰ ἀμφὶ τῇ γῇ τῇ Αἰγυπτίᾳ ποιήματα) call Egypt "a gift of the river." It is likely that the phrase belongs originally to Hecataeus and that the introductory words used by Herodotus (δῆλα γὰρ δὴ καὶ μὴ προακούσαντι, ἰδόντι δέ) really mean "Hecataeus has said this before, but it is obvious to anyone who looks for himself."³ Another author who refers the phrase to the whole of Egypt is Strabo (I. 2. 29 and 15. 1. 16). He mentions Herodotus alone as its author.

What part of Egypt Hecataeus intended the phrase to cover is no longer certain. Probably the Delta, since in 2. 15 Herodotus combats the view of the Ionians that the Delta only is Egypt, and Hecataeus is presumably among them.⁴ Sir H. Idris Bell⁵ believes that Herodotus too was thinking only of the Delta; but Herodotus expressly adds to his definition a region above the Lake of Moeris. It is equally clear that he was not including the whole of Egypt in his reference, although some scholars⁶ have explained the statement in this way—a view which has apparently arisen through another misinterpretation, namely that this tract of land is "a gift of the river" in the sense that it is

¹ A shortened form of this paper was read to the Annual Meeting of the Classical Association of England and Wales at the University College of Swansea in April 1963 with Professor L. J. D. Richardson in the chair. Cf. the summary in the *Proceedings of the Classical Association*, LX (1963), 25 ("A Gift of the Nile").

² Grammatically Αἰγυπτὸς . . . ἐστὶ . . . δῶρον τοῦ ποταμοῦ allows "the gift" or "a gift." The latter is more likely, for the Nile obviously gives other gifts such as fish and a means of transport. On the other hand, the use of the definite article here in English would perhaps not exclude this interpretation.

³ Cf. F. Jacoby in *PW*, s.v. Hekataios (aus Miletos) [1912], p. 2676.

⁴ Cf. L. Pearson, *Early Ionian Historians* (Oxford, 1939), p. 86. Pearson believes that Aeschylus, *Prom.*

Vinct. 813 f. also restricts Egypt to the Delta. But when Aeschylus speaks of "the triangular land of the Nile" he does not necessarily refer to the whole of Egypt as he thought of it.

⁵ *Egypt from Alexander the Great to the Arab Conquest* (Oxford, 1948), pp. 1-2: "... the Delta, a tract of alluvial soil very happily called by Herodotus, as by Hecataeus before him, 'the gift of the river.'" Cf. F. J. Groten, *Phoenix*, XVII (1963), 81, n. 2 ("... Herodotus uses the phrase δῶρον τοῦ ποταμοῦ to describe the Delta of the Nile . . ."), a reference I owe to L. J. D. Richardson.

⁶ T. R. Glover, *Herodotus* (Univ. of California, 1924), pp. 160 f., cf. 165; John Ball, *Egypt in the Classical Geographers* (Cairo, 1942), p. 12. M. Cary, *The Geographic Background of Greek and Roman History* (Oxford, 1949), p. 207 expands the reference still further to "the Nile valley."

fertilized by the Nile. What Herodotus means is that it is the deposit and hence the creation of the river and that it was previously marsh (chap. 4) or sea (chap. 11).

The part of the country to which he applies this description is limited in two separate phrases: first, "Egypt to which the Greeks sail"; second, "also the region above this lake (the Lake of Moeris) as far as three days' sail." Commentators have argued about both phrases. The first is usually taken to be the Delta. Waddell suggests, "the Delta and perhaps the Nile valley as far up as Memphis." Surely the natural interpretation is to take the first phrase as covering the region up to the lake, i.e. the Lake of Moeris, since the second phrase seeks to add a region from there on. The connexion with chap. 4 should be noted. There it is stated that the priests of Heliopolis said that in early times none of the land below the Lake of Moeris was above the primeval marsh. Here Herodotus is clearly giving it as his own view that the Nile-created land extends for three days' journey further upstream: "a region which they did not characterize thus at all, though it is exactly the same kind of country."

How much is "three days' sail" according to Herodotus? He tells us in chap. 4 that the Lake of Moeris is seven days' sail from the sea. There are references in chap. 8 to a two months' journey and four days' sail, but the distances are not defined by place-names. Chap. 19 is also difficult. In chap. 9, however, he says that from Heliopolis to Thebes is nine days' sail up the river, adding the detail that this distance is 81 $\sigma\chi\omicron\lambda\iota\nu\alpha\iota$ or 4860 stades. According to this, if one assumes that a stade is a small furlong, three days' sail would cover about 200 miles. But in fact the distance from Heliopolis to Thebes is 729 kilometres,⁷ so that a day's journey would cover about 50 miles. Three days' sail from Ghurâb, which may have been the site of the Moeris referred to in the expression "Lake of Moeris,"⁸ would therefore bring one to the vicinity of Asyut.⁹ Now it is noteworthy that Asyut, according to one tradition, was the site of a boundary town between Lower and Upper Egypt.¹⁰ The Nile-created land, then, according to Herodotus, would be Lower Egypt in this sense.

Such a conclusion is based, it will be clear, on the detailed equation in chap. 9 and cannot be reconciled with the statement in chap. 4 that the Lake of Moeris is seven days' sail from the sea. But this latter statement is itself inconsistent with that in chap. 7, which avers that from Heliopolis to the sea is 1500 stades¹¹—less than three days' sail on the reckoning of chap. 9.

Sourdille¹² would take the Nile-given land a long way further up the river, to Farshût. He achieves his reckoning of 280 km. by leaving the distance from Heliopolis to Thebes, as postulated in chap. 9, uncorrected. This matter is arguable either way. Sourdille's argument about the branches of the Nile is, however, questionable. He argues that it is at Farshût that the Nile, for the first time after its entry into Egypt, separates into two branches, and that Herodotus therefore wished to place here, in the angle formed

⁷ Ball, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

⁸ Gardiner has shown in *JEA*, XXIX (1943), 37 ff. that the expression "Lake of Moeris" as used by Herodotus is probably correct since the name is that of a town. It seems that there was more than one town of that name. Ghurâb was one. See also Sir H. Idris Bell in *JEA*, XXIX (1943), 50.

⁹ For Herodotus' measurements see Ball, *op. cit.*, p. 11. See also Sourdille, *La durée et l'étendue du voyage d'Hérodote en Égypte* (Paris, 1910), p. 114, n. 1, and p. 134.

¹⁰ Sethe, *Urgeschichte und älteste Religion der Ägypter* (Leipzig, 1930), pp. 48 and 74. Cf. E. J. Baumgartel, *The Cultures of Prehistoric Egypt* (Oxford, 1947), p. 10.

¹¹ Cf. Ball, *op. cit.*, p. 14: "... fifteen hundred stades (287 kilometres) which was probably not much in excess of the truth. ..."

¹² *Op. cit.*, p. 134. How and Wells in their commentary *ad loc.* summarize Sourdille's argument but do not discuss it critically.

by the Baḥr Sohagīyeh and the Nile, the beginning of the land formed in the manner of the Delta; the Heliopolitan priests, on the other hand, had illogically placed it near the Lake of Moeris, where the Baḥr Yūsuf makes a similar angle with the Nile. But Herodotus does not refer to the river-branches at all. In fact he states in chap. 17 that the Nile runs as far as the city of Cercasôrus (in the Delta) in a single stream. This is duly admitted by Sourdille. He counters by suggesting that Herodotus did not realize that these were true river-branches. It should be noted, however, that in chap. 149 Herodotus states that the water in the Lake of Moeris is brought from the Nile by an artificial canal. There is no evidence, then, that knowledge of the Baḥr Yūsuf lies behind the definition of the terrain involved in "a gift of the river."

If Asyût is the point to which the definition extends, there may well be a tacit correction here of the reference to "the Theban nome" in chap. 4. The priestly view there cited suggests that "the Theban nome" began immediately above the Lake of Moeris. Commentators rightly take the reference to be to the Thebaid rather than to the nome of Thebes in the narrow sense. Now the Thebaid extended from Elephantine to Asyût.¹³ Then began the Heptanomis, which was considered a part of Lower Egypt. It seems, therefore, that what Herodotus has added to the priestly view involves a more accurate delimitation of the Thebaid as extending not to the Lake of Moeris but to the neighborhood of Asyût.

In 2. 10 Herodotus says by way of repetition:

The greater part of this land which I have described is, *as the priests told me*, and as I also believe, land acquired by the Egyptians.

In 2. 15 he repeats the idea with reference to the Delta only:

Thus the Delta, *as the Egyptians themselves say* and as I believe myself, is land deposited by the river and, in a word, has only lately appeared.

On the basis of the two parenthetical references, which I have italicized, Stein suggested that the expression about "a gift of the river" may have been borrowed originally from the Egyptians. Wiedemann called this suggestion "eine unbewiesene Vermuthung," but Waddell has revived it ("This is apparently an Egyptian description, which was used by Hecataeus . . .") though without adducing evidence. The suggestion is worth looking at again.

Hymns to the Nile-god Ḥa'py would be a natural source for such a saying. The hymns do indeed talk of the Nile-god as being "the lord of sustenance," "the bringer of verdure" and the like; the god is made to say, "I am come to make the Two Lands flourish" and "I have given grain to my followers" and "This whole land is beneath my shadow."¹⁴ But we look in vain for a statement that Egypt or the Delta is the actual gift or creation of the Nile.

At this point it is relevant to consider De Buck's¹⁵ admirable discussion of the name Ḥa'py together with the rich documentation adduced by him. De Buck argues that "ḥ'pj never means anything else but inundation" (p. 2). He points out that "ḥ'rw is the name of the river Nile proper" (p. 1); he would therefore revise the statement in *Wb.* III,

¹³ Sethe, *op. cit.*, p. 48; Ball, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

land to live through his provisions": see Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte*, p. 526.

¹⁴ See R. T. Rundle Clark, "Some Hymns to the Nile," *Univ. of Birmingham Hist. J.*, V (1955), 1-30; cf. Erman-Blackman, *Egyptian Literature*, pp. 146-49. The high Nile is greeted as "he who causes the whole

¹⁵ "On the Meaning of the Name Ḥ'pj," *Orientalia Neerlandica* (A Volume of Oriental Studies [Leiden, 1948]), 1-22. The writer is grateful to Professor Seele for drawing his attention to this important study.

42, which begins by explaining *ḥꜥpy* as "der Nil, I. als wirklicher Strom," and then goes on to "II. als Überschwemmung, die das Land befruchtet und ernährt," by deleting the first meaning and applying the second to all occurrences. This is an attractive theory and it is well presented. Examination of the numerous examples compiled by De Buck compels one to admit, at the very least, that the emphasis of the meaning is most commonly on the inundation. Logically, however, there is occasionally an embarrassment in confining the term to this meaning.¹⁶ When we are told, for instance, in *Pyr.* 1553 b, that "those who see *ḥꜥpy* when it rises,¹⁷ tremble," we realize that it is the Nile that rises, thus causing the inundation. Most of the passages conform to a meaning "The Nile in its inundation."

Whatever one's view on the precise translation of the name, De Buck's compilation confirms the impression that the Egyptians were prepared to ascribe to the Nile and its inundation the abundance of food which resulted.¹⁸ What *Ḥꜥpy* gives is described sometimes with detail and sometimes more generally:

Then shall *Ḥꜥpy* come; he shall inundate the land; he shall give vegetables; he shall double meat and food. (De Buck, No. 17 = Cairo, No. 583, 11)

(The King is called) *Ḥꜥpy*, who overflows every day, who gives life to Egypt (*sꜥnh ꜥmt*). (De Buck, No. 19 = Davies, *Rock Tombs of El Amarna*, VI, 25, 9-10)

Ḥꜥpy gives life to the two lands; meat and food come into being when he rises. (De Buck, No. 34 = Lepsius, *Denkm.*, III, 175 a, 2 ff.)

I have ventured to differ from De Buck's versions by making the name include the concept of the god. *Wb.* III, 42 f. neatly divides the meanings "als Gewässer" and "als Gott," but includes occurrences of the latter which show no god-determinative. The personification may well pervade many instances grouped in the first category.

Pictorial representations are another possible source. We must remember that Greeks visiting Egypt, including Hecataeus and Herodotus, although they could not speak or read Egyptian, were able to look at reliefs, statues, and paintings, and to attempt to interpret them, sometimes with the help of not fully informed Egyptian guides. In 2. 28 Herodotus states that the "scribe of the sacred treasures of Athene (i.e. Neith)" at Sais told him that the springs of the Nile rise between two hills near Elephantine. This is a statement conveyed verbally, presumably by a bilingual priest, but it is pictorially expressed in a depiction on Hadrian's Gateway on the Island of Philae.¹⁹ The strange point about this statement is that two Niles are involved, one flowing north and the other south. From other pictures and texts we know that the Nile was often localized. There was a "Nile of Elephantine" and a "Nile of Babylon (near Cairo)."²⁰ In particular there was a "Nile of Lower Egypt" and a "Nile of Upper Egypt," and quite often they assumed the role of representatives of the two regions.²¹ The "Nile of Lower Egypt" is

¹⁶ De Buck seems to have been aware of this: see his remarks on p. 3.

¹⁷ De Buck, p. 13, translates thus; lit. "strikes," i.e. by rising in flood.

¹⁸ De Buck, *op. cit.*, p. 13, maintains his distinction in this way: "Abundance of food depends on the Inundation, see this list *passim*. For us this is tantamount to saying that it depends on the river, but to the Egyptian mind *ḥꜥpy* is a phenomenon more or less independent of the river. . . ." Here he seems to be pressing his theory a little too hard.

¹⁹ Cf. Spiegelberg, tr. Blackman, *The Credibility of Herodotus' Account of Egypt in the Light of the*

Egyptian Monuments, pp. 17 f. See also G. A. Wainright, "Herodotus II, 28 on the Sources of the Nile," *JHS*, LXXIII (1953), 104-107.

²⁰ Bonnet, *Reallexikon*, p. 525.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 527; cf. E. Otto, "Die Lehre von den beiden Ländern Ägyptens in der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte," *Studia Aegyptiaca*, I (1938), 27 f. Sethe, *ZAS*, LIV (1918), 138 argued that in some cases their regional role has superseded their function as Nile-gods; in some such instances, certainly (e.g. Naville, *Bubastis*, Pl. 25 C; *JEA*, XXX (1944), Pl. 3, 2), the gods are not shown carrying anything, but are represented as uniting the Two Lands.

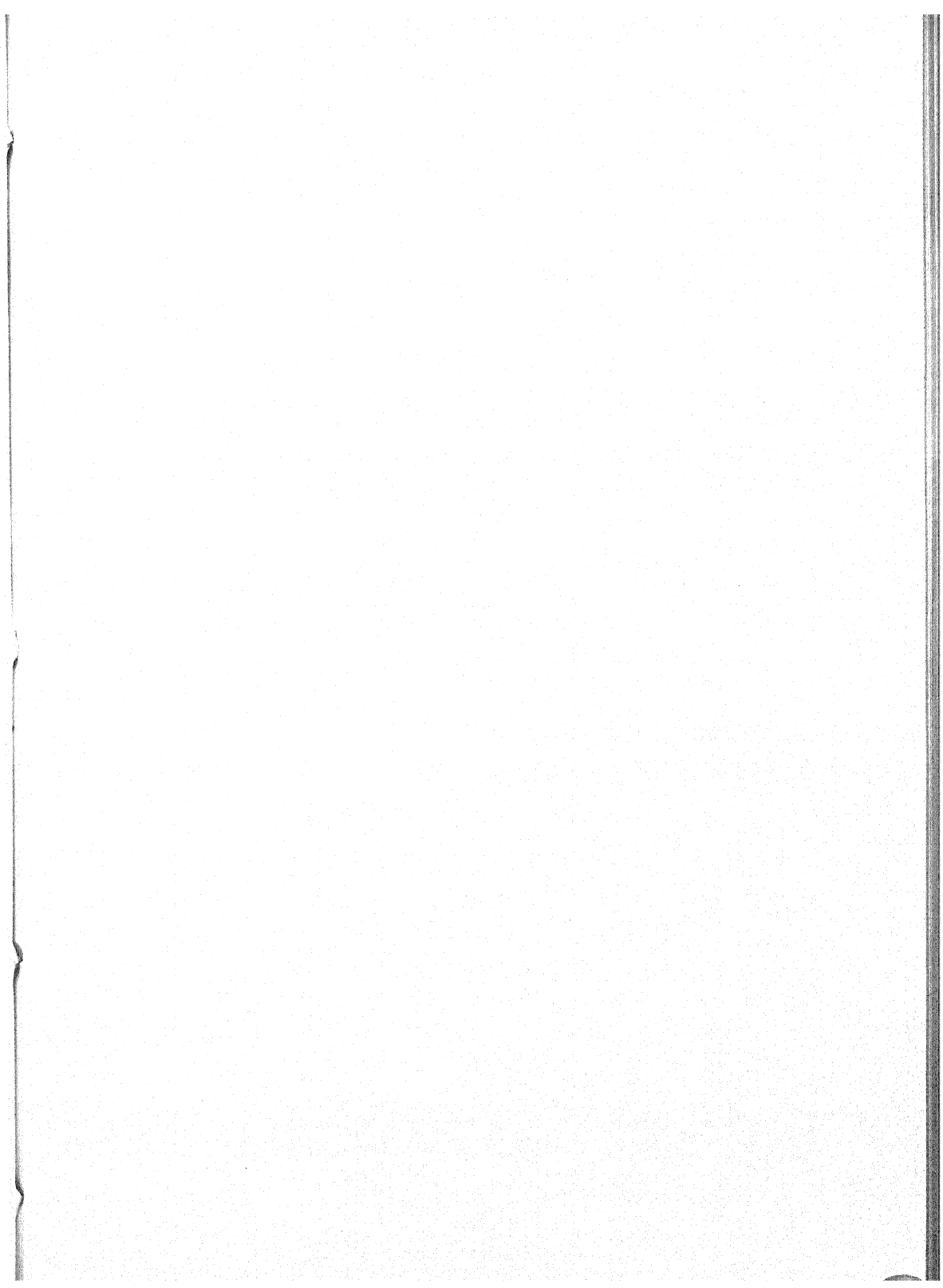
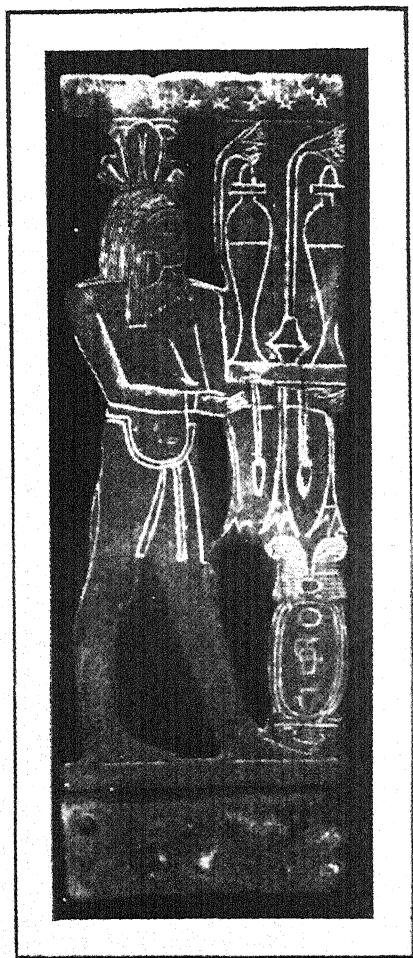
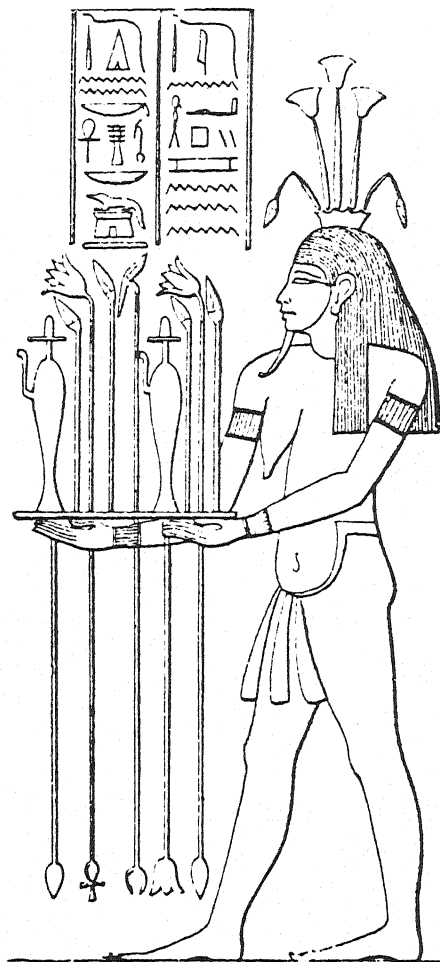


PLATE VII
THE NILE-GOD HAPY IN LOWER EGYPTIAN FORM



A



B

A.—After Maspero, tr. Rusch, *Geschichte der Kunst in Ägypten*, Fig. 560 (a bronze plate).
B.—After Erman, *Ägypten*, II, 567.

regularly depicted carrying on his head a clump of papyrus (Gardiner, Sign-list, M 15) which symbolizes the Delta and is used as a determinative in the word *T³-mhw*, "Lower Egypt," "the Delta."²² Further, he is constantly shown as bearing gifts, and the gifts brought by him might again suggest the Delta itself, though they are shown with other Niles. In Pl. VII A,²³ which bears the cartouche of *Hnm-ib-R^c* (Amasis, 569-527 B.C.) the god is shown bringing an offering tray on which are sealed vases of water and lotus-flowers. Incidentally the deity seems to be thought of as bisexual²⁴ and is shown wearing a girdle like that worn by sailors and fishermen. Pl. VII B²⁵ is similar, except that the god's name (*Ha'py*) appears in the superinscribed hieroglyphs.²⁶

Such representations could easily have been explained as denoting that Lower Egypt was the gift of the Nile, although the more precise meaning was that the Nile-god associated with Lower Egypt was the creator and bestower of the products of the region. Hecataeus, and after him Herodotus, may have accepted the former explanation and reproduced it verbally. It is Herodotus who is probably responsible for the redefinition of the region involved: to him it is not merely the Delta but Lower Egypt up to Asyût. Both the Greek writers may well have indulged in the geological detail which is obviously superimposed on the simpler Egyptian concept that the Lower-Egyptian Nile fertilized and fructified Lower Egypt; Hecataeus is likely to have first interpreted the "gift" in the sense of land created by a deposit left by the river in what was previously marsh or sea.

The likelihood of a pictorial representation lying behind such a statement can at least be supported by frequent other allusions in Herodotus to his observation of visual material. He often refers to statues, reliefs, and paintings.²⁷ Spiegelberg²⁸ has explained several of the stories in Herodotus as tales evoked by monuments. In discussing the phoenix (2. 73) Herodotus expressly says, "I myself have never seen it except in pictures (*ἐν μὴ ὄσον γραφή*)."²⁹ It may be suggested, in addition, that an interpretation of a common funerary depiction lies behind his statement (in 2. 123) that the Egyptians believed in metempsychosis,²⁹ a statement which is otherwise hard to explain. The *bai*, the soul or double of a man, is often shown visiting the body of the deceased in the form of a bird with a human face; and the picture could easily be misinterpreted in terms of Pythagorean transmigration of the soul.

²² Gardiner, *Egn. Gram.*, 2d ed., p. 481 (M 15).

²³ After Maspero, tr. Rusch, *Geschichte der Kunst in Ägypten* (Stuttgart, 1913), p. 297, Abb. 560.

²⁴ Bonnet, *Reallexikon*, p. 526, argues that the pendulous breasts indicate rather the fleshly fullness of a well-nourished man, although he admits that a feminine significance is occasionally present, as in Junker, *Abaton*, 61, where water is emitted from one of the breasts.

²⁵ After Erman, *Ägypten*, II, 567.

²⁶ Iconographically the gods Neper, Hu, Sia, and those representing the seasons are shown in very similar guise: see Bonnet, *Reallexikon*, pp. 526 f. For other examples of *Ha'py* in Lower Egyptian form see Bonnet, *Bilderatlas*, Fig. 159; and *idem*, *Reallexikon*,

p. 526, Fig. 130. The Upper Egyptian form shows lotus-plants on the god's head; instances of both types occur in the long and varied series in C. de Wit, *Les inscriptions du temple d'Opet à Karnak*, II (Brussels, 1962), Pls. 15 ff., where many are shown bearing nome-signs.

²⁷ E.g. 2. 42; 46; 48; 51; 63; 131; 144.

²⁸ *The Credibility of Herodotus' Account of Egypt*, pp. 25 ff.

²⁹ Since the above was written, and verbally communicated in public, Dr. Louis V. Žabkar has proposed a similar explanation in his excellent article "Herodotus and the Egyptian Idea of Immortality," *JNES*, XXII (1963), 57-63. Priority of printed publication is gladly acceded to him.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Heritage of Persia. By RICHARD N. FRYE. Cleveland: The World Publishing Company, 1963. Pp. xvii + 301.

Persons with Indo-Iranian names, the forerunners of a great migration, emerge briefly among the rulers of Mitanni in the middle of the second millennium B.C. Their antecedents and their subsequent history are completely mysterious.

Some centuries later the Aryans of the vast Eurasian steppes, stirred by unimaginable pressures or incentives, began to abandon their grazing grounds (most likely in the Ural area) and to stream south in great numbers. At some point, perhaps at Herat in Afghanistan, the stream divided into two main currents. One went east and south into India. The other, our present concern, headed west, between the Elburz mountains and the desert Dasht-i Kavir, to the area of Tehran, where it again divided, a part going northwest to Azerbaijan, a part southwest, south, and then southeast to Persia. A lesser current from the Herat area went south and west to Kerman. All along the various routes some groups chose permanent stopping places; others stopped for a while, then resumed their trek.

By the ninth century the Iranians, well settled in, began to be mentioned in cuneiform texts. Medes in the eighth and seventh centuries were conspicuous opponents of the Assyrians. Finally, in 614-609, Cyaxares the Mede, in alliance with the Babylonians, destroyed Assyria. He and his son Astyages ruled a vast but loosely-organized empire for some sixty years. Then, in 549, Cyrus of Anshan revolted successfully and initiated the Achaemenid dynasty, which was to endure 219 years, the first of the three main dynasties of pre-Islamic Persia. The empire flourished under Darius I (522-486), then began a slow decline.

Contemporary with Cyrus, apparently, was the prophet Zoroaster, who seems to

have lived in eastern Iran. He had a patron Vishtaspa, who, it now seems, cannot be Vishtaspa the father of Darius I. Nevertheless, Darius was devoted to Zoroaster's god, Ahuramazda, whether or not he accepted, or even knew, all the rarefied doctrines of Zoroaster.

In 330 the Achaemenids yielded to Alexander, who was succeeded in this area by the Seleucids. When Seleucid power faded in Iran, in 247 B.C., the Parthians seized the banner of local rule, and persisted, in some fashion, till about A.D. 227. But the Parthians did not rule alone. Among other powers were the independent "Graeco-Bactrians," with no less than forty kings, whose territories fluctuated, at one time extending well into India; they were largely responsible for the enduring influence of Greek culture in the eastern lands (including northwest India) through the subsequent invasions of the nomadic Scythians and Kushans.

The Parthians throughout their history engaged in an indecisive conflict with the west, first with the Seleucids, then with the Romans, who could never deliver enough power at the end of their long supply lines to gain a final victory. Our classical sources inform us about this struggle but not about much else; native sources are scant. The Arsacid rulers, though claiming descent from Artaxerxes II, were in fact probably remote in origin from the Achaemenids.

Their successors, the Sasanians, also claimed Achaemenid descent, and perhaps truly. At any rate, they did come out of the Persepolis area, and their dynasty can be regarded as being in some sense an Achaemenid restoration, after more than a half millennium. They lasted about 424 years (A.D. 227[?]-651), from Ardashir I through Yazdagird III.

At the beginning of the Sasanian period there was a vigorous revival of Zoroastrian-

ism, led first by Tansar under Ardashir, later by Kartir under several kings. Kartir evangelized throughout the Sasanian territories, promoted the spread of fire temples as centers of cult and teaching, and fought against heresies and other religions, chiefly Christianity and Judaism. As a result of such efforts, presumably, the Mithraism which spread far and wide in the Roman Empire was unknown in Iran.

The dynasty reached its apotheosis as it neared its end. Chosroes I (531-579), later regarded as the greatest of all pre-Islamic kings, reformed taxation to stabilize government income (not, it seems, in a way to encourage economic growth), also achieved religious and social stability (i.e., stagnation). His conquests extended even to Antioch and Yemen. In alliance with the Turks he crushed the Hephthalites, who had replaced the Kushans in the eastern lands.

Under his successors there was constant warfare, and economic conditions deteriorated. In the end the Sasanians could not resist the invading Arabs, who gained an unbroken series of victories between 611 and 651.

The Arabs demanded tribute, but did not at first disturb local institutions. The Persians became aware, however, that preferment could be gained only by turning Moslem. So Moslemism came to prevail, but with a difference, penetrated and transformed by Persian influence.

Such is the story told by this "scientific-popular" book. It tells the story with so many interruptions and hesitations that one may doubt its popular appeal. But certainly the specialist familiar with only a part of the story can profit from seeing the whole picture in a detailed and authoritative presentation.

The specialist, of course, in his particular field, will find bones to pick. Thus, for example, Greek Phraortes does not correspond to Old Persian Khshathrita (as stated on p. 68), but to Fravartish. Magians are not attested at Persepolis "shortly after Darius' accession" (p. 89), nor do they occur in the treasury tablets (p. 112): they occur in

Persepolis fortification tablets which originated at other sites (e.g., Niriz), starting in the fifteenth year of Darius. Persepolis is not called Parsa in the Elamite tablets (p. 97), it is written *Ba-ir-ša*, which may be taken to represent Parša. The bulk of the Elamite tablets from Persepolis will not be published in *JNES* (p. 286), but will appear in the reviewer's forthcoming volume, "The Persepolis Fortification Tablets."

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Corpus des tablettes en cunéiformes alphabétiques (découvertes à Ras Shamra-Ugarit de 1929 à 1939). By ANDRÉE HERDNER. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale & Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1963. Vol. I (text): pp. xxxv + 339; Vol. II (plates): i-lxxxviii.

Miss Herdner has worked long and hard to produce this substantial and useful corpus of Ugaritic texts in transliteration (Vol. I) as well as in autographed copy and photograph (Vol. II). The copies are nearly all by the Nestor of Ugaritic studies, Charles Virolleaud. Vol. I includes a large general bibliography brought down to 1961 (pp. 293-339). Each of the transliterated texts is supplied with a special bibliography (to 1956); and every problematic reading, with a footnote outlining the divergent suggestions of other scholars.

The author has striven for objectivity and attained it.

The tablets are arranged anew as follows:

1. Myths (Nos. 1-28)
2. Religious texts (Nos. 29-49)
3. Epistles (Nos. 50-63)
4. Diplomacy (No. 64)
5. Economics (Nos. 65-159)
6. Hippology (Nos. 160-61)
7. Alphabetically written Akkadian (Nos. 162-65)
8. Alphabetically written Hurrian (Nos. 166-85)
9. Miscellaneous (Nos. 186-219)

Miss Herdner's sticking to the text, even when she disagrees with the ancient scribe,

is commendable. For example, on p. 16 the scribe writes Anath's epithet *ymmt* instead of the usual *ybm̄t*. In footnote 8 she states her opinion that *ymmt* is an error for *ybm̄t*. I am inclined to regard *ymmt* as a legitimate variant of *ybm̄t* (through assimilation of the *b* to the following *m*) that crops up as the name of Job's eldest daughter יְמִימָה, "Jemimah." But how can anyone find fault with the editor who takes no license with the text and relegates her criticism of the ancient scribe to the footnotes?

On p. 34 where Miss Herdner (following other scholars) does emend the text from *tbt̄y* (which must mean "his sitting") to *t̄bth*, I am inclined to regard *tbt̄y* as a Phoenicianism = שְׁבֵתִי "his sitting." Ugaritic is full of sporadic, atypical forms that go with other kindred dialects against the Ugaritic norm.¹

One of the many virtues of the *Corpus* is the editor's careful reckoning of the space available for restorations. On p. 39 it would be less jarring if the seventy sacrificial animals called *hm̄rm*, "donkeys," could be restored to [y]hm̄rm, "wildgoats," but there is not enough room for the widely accepted restoration, as Miss Herdner rightly notes. Similarly, Hebrew usage has prompted a number of scholars to emend "r, "donkey," to *tr*, "bull," where the beast appears as a sacrificial animal (p. 114). Miss Herdner's sober respect for the text as it stands has

kept her from falling into this error. Sometimes Hebrew usage followed the Canaanite, but sometimes it opposed it diametrically. (To take only one other example: Baal is a coveting god who covets houses, fields, and animals in Ugaritic. The O.T. reaction is pointed; not only does the Tenth Commandment outlaw this attribute of Baal but, between the Exodus and Deuteronomy versions, it specifically forbids the coveting of houses, fields, and animals.) For this reason, Biblical usage should not be used to emend a Ugaritic text, or vice versa.

On p. 69, footnote 2, the reading I have proposed is not *wtm̄nt t̄tm̄nm̄!* but *wtm̄nt t̄tm̄nt.*, "and an eighth (daughter), Octavia" (the last two wedges being a horizontal [= *t*] and a vertical [= word divider], not combined to make *m*).

On p. 114 the reading *ḡbr* in line 12 does away with the Subareans (*t̄br*). Since the term is ethnic we may have another factor to reckon with in the so-called "Habiru" problem for the Hebrew reflex of *ḡbr* is עֵבֶר. Are we to compare עֵבֶר, "Eber," the eponymous ancestor of the Hebrews?

On p. 149 my name is listed among the scholars who label a certain epistle as a mythological text. Since at least 1955 (see *UM*, p. 106, n. 1) I have taken the text to be an epistle opening with [*tr*]iṣ r̄y, "to my friend," which is reflected in Akkadian epistles from Ugarit as *ana muḫḫi N*.

On p. 274 a Ugaritic ABC tablet is transliterated: *a b g h d h w z ḥ t̄ y k ṣ l m ḡ n z s c p s q r t ḡ t i u ṣ*. It is generally assumed that the Greek alphabet is derived from the shorter Phoenician ABC which ends in *t*. Accordingly, *υ*, *φ*, *χ*, *ψ*, and *ω* are considered Greek additions to an earlier Phoenician ABC that ended with *t*. However, in Crete, which seems to be the main center for the transmission of the alphabet from the Semites to the Greeks, the early epichoric texts, in both Eteocretan and Greek, use *υ* but not the definitely Greek innovations *φ*, *χ*, *ψ*, and *ω*. Since *υ* follows *τ* in Greek, as well as in the Ugaritic ABC, it is quite possible that the Greek ABC was derived from a more-than-22 letter Phoenician

¹ On p. 89 Miss Herdner emends *art* to *ars* (1 Aqht: 112) but, as always in such matters, she meticulously tells the reader in a footnote that the scribe has written *art* "par erreur." That the word means "land, earth" (normally *ars*) is clear because the whole phrase, *bḥrt ilm art*, is written elsewhere *bḥrt ilm ars*. Since *t* does not look anything like *s* in the cuneiform, it is hard to explain *t* as a scribal error for *s*. Moreover the occurrence of *art* *hkpt* (1128:26; see *UT* [= *Ugaritic Textbook*] for the text; and *UT*, p. 387, No. 384, for *art*), which apparently means "the land of H.", suggests that *art* is a dialectal variant of *ars*. On p. 34, n. 4, Miss Herdner resists the temptation to emend *aṣh* (which means "he shouts," not "I shout" in 67:II:21) to *ysh*. Her caution is vindicated by the fact that *ya-* may shift to *ʾa-* in Ugaritic and kindred dialects. Note *aḥd* alongside *yḥd* (*UT*, p. 354, No. 126, and p. 410, No. 1087); cf. also *ʾtn* (as in *אתנן*, "gift") alongside *ytn*, "to give"; and Minoan *a-ta-no* alongside *ya-ta-no*, "gave," and *a-sa-sa-la-mu* alongside *ya-sa-sa-la-mu*, "a votive offering" (sic!).

alphabet in which *v* came after *τ* as in Ugaritic. (The *i* of the Ugaritic ABC was dropped because *ι*, derived from the Phoenician *y*, rendered it unnecessary.)

No Ugaritic scholar will want to be without his own copy of Miss Herdner's edition of the Ugaritic tablets found between 1929 and 1939. My only regret is that her book came out after the corpus of texts in my *Ugaritic Textbook* (1965) had already been printed and the type broken up for setting the rest of the *Textbook*. For this reason students will want to use both her edition and my more complete edition (which includes PRU II and V) of the Ugaritic texts: they were prepared independently of each other.

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Fouilles de Mundigak. By J.-M. CASAL.

"Mémoires de Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan, tome XVII. Vol. I, pp. 260. Vol. II, pp. 13 + 140 figs. + xlv Pls. Paris: Librairie C. Klincksienck, 1961.

До последнего времени наши знания о древнейшей истории Афганистана были весьма скудны и отрывочны в отличие от культуры кушанского времени или буддийских и средневековых памятников этой страны. Небольшая коллекция расписной керамики, собранная в 1915 г. А. Стейном в иранском Сеистане, была лишь в 1949–1951 гг. дополнена разведочным обследованием аналогичных памятников афганского Сеистана, проведенным В. А. Фэрсервисом. Этим же автором был осмотрен ряд первобытных памятников в районе Кандагара. Однако лишь систематические раскопки французской археологической экспедиции под руководством Ж. М. Касаль в 1951–1958 гг. на поселении Мундигак к северо-западу от Кандагара дали достаточно большой и разносторонний материал, характеризующий историю Афганистана в период до похода Александра Македонского. Развернутая публикация результатов этих

раскопок имеет большое значение также для изучения истории соседних стран.

Особенно большое значение имеет четкая стратиграфия, прослеженная Ж. М. Касалем. В древнейший период (Мундигак I, толщина слоёв до 4,5 м) существовало небольшое поселение на холме А, состоявшее из глинобитных домов. В слое I, 4 отмечено употребление сырцового кирпича. 90% керамики изготовлено с помощью гончарного круга. Известны медные изделия и терракотовые пряслица. В росписи на посуде отмечен зооморфный орнамент, а со слоя I, 4 появляется посуда с полихромной росписью типа Амри-Кечи-Бег (Amri-Kechi Beg). Ж. М. Касаль полагает, что в слое I, 2 глинобитные постройки заменяли шалаши (р. 29), что вызывает известные сомнения для всего поселения. В равной мере мало оправдано выделение слоя Мундигака I, 1, где найдено всего два черепка.

Холмом А ограничивается поселение и в пору Мундигак II и III. В слоях Мундигак II (толщина слоёв от 3 до 3,3 м) первоначально наблюдается преобладание посуды ручной лепки, но в целом керамика продолжает старые традиции. Появляются каменные печатки, терракотовые фигурки животных. Интересна медная булавка с двойной спиральной головкой. Дальнейший подъем наблюдается в пору Мундигак III (слои от 2,2 до 5,2 м). Среди медных изделий можно отметить кинжал, массивные топоры, появляются женские статуэтки, распространяется керамика стиля Quetta. Интересно наличие погребальных камер наряду с одиночными скорченными погребениями. В эти камеры помещались разрозненные части скелетов нескольких человек (pp. 44–45).

Всё это как бы подготавливает расцвет местной культуры, наступающий в пору Мундигак IV, когда территория, занятая поселением, увеличивается в несколько раз. В это время на холме А возводится массивная постройка, использующая культурные слои более раннего времени как платформу. Её фронтон, сохранившийся в длину на 35 метров, украшен полуколоннами. Ж. М. Кассаль предполагает, что эта

постройка является дворцом местного правителя. Около неё расположено поселение, окруженное оборонительной стеной. Несколько в стороне (холм G) расположено другое крупное строение, обнесённое стеной, которая украшена снаружи острыми выступами. Ж. М. Касаль называет это строение храмом (pp. 63–65) и действительно его ограда близко напоминает обвод монументальных религиозных сооружений Месопотамии. Правда, мундигацкий храм отличается отсутствием чётких пропорций и выдержанности плана. Для расписной керамики этого времени характерны изображения животных и растительный орнамент, но традиции стиля Кветты также весьма ощутимы. Помимо терракотовых фигурок людей и животных найдена также мужская голова из белого известняка, напоминающая скульптуру Хараппы. Однако не обнаружено никаких следов письменности—бронзовые и каменные печати воспроизводят несложные геометрические орнаменты. Ж. М. Касаль выделяет в Мундигаке IV три этапа (IV, 1–3), а в здании на холме А три ремонтных периода, считая, что все они приходится на время IV, 1 и что потом это здание было заброшено. Возможно, этот вопрос нуждается в дальнейшем исследовании.

Несомненный упадок этой культуры отмечается в пору Мундигака V, когда всё поселение забрасывается и существует лишь массивное строение на холме А. Преобладает посуда нового типа: ручной лепки с чёрной росписью по красному фону. Слои Мундигака VI соответствуют времени запустения и представлены не строениями, а слоями золы. Здесь также встречается расписная керамика с несложным орнаментом. Наконец, в самом верхнем слое — Мундигака VII раскопаны глинобитные зернохранилища. Преобладает красная и серая керамика, сделанная с помощью гончарного круга, а находки трёхперых бронзовых наконечников стрел свидетельствуют, что перед нами культура ахеменидской Арахосии, крайне близкая культуре ахеменидской Дрангианы (Нади-Али I) (Nad-i-Ali).

Мундигака I Ж. М. Касаль относит к концу IV тыс. до н. э. (pp. 25, 98, 111). В этом с ним вполне можно согласиться, отметив лишь, что Мундигака I скорее всего соответствует не Гул Мохаммед II (Ghul Mohammed), как полагает Ж. М. Касаль, а Гул Мохаммед III, и, в поздней фазе, Гул Мохаммед IV.¹ Однако даты для более поздних слоёв вызывают известные сомнения. Так, Мундигака III Ж. М. Касаль датирует первой третью III тыс. до н. э., а Мундигака IV—2 и 3 четвертью этого тысячелетия (pp. 27, 69–70, 110–119). Нам представляется, что Мундигака III следует относить к середине III тыс. до н. э., а Мундигака IV к последней четверти III тыс. — началу II тыс. до н. э., считая его в целом одновременным Хараппе. В самом деле, сам Ж. М. Касаль неоднократно подчеркивает аналогии между Гисаром III и Мундигаком IV (pp. 103, 106–108). Действительно, печати крестообразной формы из Мундигака IV, 1–3 представляют собой полную аналогию печати Гисара III В. Шаровидные сосуды на ножке (“*verre à dégustation*”), широко распространённые в Мундигаке IV, известны не только в Гисаре II В, но и в Гисаре III А–В. В Гисаре III В находит прямые аналогии и форма сосудов в виде графина.² Поэтому нам кажется, что нет особых оснований сближать даже ранние этапы Мундигака IV с Гисаром II, как это предлагает Ж. М. Касаль (p. 111). В отношении абсолютного возраста Гисара III Ж. М. Касаль следует за длинной хронологией Д. Мак Кауна, синхронизировавшего Гисар III с Аккадом и ранними династиями Шумера. Однако целый ряд исследователей справедливо отмечал, что Гисар III скорее всего следует относить к концу III — началу II тыс. до н. э. (S. Piggott, D. H. Gordon) и сам Д. Мак Каун в последней работе отмечает, что предметы, на которых строится синхронизация, в Месопотамии могли

¹ W. A. Fairervis. *Excavations in the Quetta Valley* (New York, 1956), fig. 50 B and J. M. Casal, fig. 49, 2, 6, в Гул Мохаммед IV и в Мундигаке I, 4–5 появляются полихромная керамика типа Амри-Кечи-Бег.

² E. Schmidt. *Excavations at Tepe Hissar, Damghan* (Philadelphia, 1937), Pl. XXXVII, H 2406 and J. M. Casal, fig. 71, 217 (Mundigak IV, 1).

бытовать и позднее Аккада, не говоря уже о варварской периферии.³ Короткая хронология находит сейчас подтверждение и в радиокарбонových датах. Ещё Д. Мак Каун установил синхронизм Гисара III и Хараппы. В Kot Diji хараппские слои датированы 2125(±137) г. до н.э. и 1967(±134) г. до н.э., а дохараппский комплекс 2463(±141) г. до н.э.

Уж сам Ж. М. Касаль отмечает близкие аналогии между растительным орнаментом на керамике Хараппы и Мундигака IV, однако он полагает, что посуда Мундигака древнее и оказала влияние на Хараппу (р. 102). При синхронизации Хараппы и Мундигака IV необходимость в подобном предположении отпадает. Под основанием цитадели Хараппы М. Уилером была найдена дохараппская керамика белуджистанского типа. Ж. М. Касаль относит её к типу Rana Ghundai III B и синхронизирует с Мундигаком IV, 2 (р. 114). Однако столь точное определение этой группы керамики невозможно и более правильно говорить о том, что под цитаделью Хараппы найдена керамика типа Rana Ghundai II—III.⁴ Кроме того следует иметь в виду, что некоторые орнаменты Мундигака II находят аналогии не только в Rana-Ghundai II, что отмечает Ж. М. Касаль (р. 112), но и в ранней фазе Rana-Ghundai III.⁵ В таком случае возможные сомнения в синхронизации Мундигака IV и Хараппы также отпадают. Ту же хронологию дают и результаты исследований В. Фэрсервиса в северном Пакистане, не учтенные Ж. М. Касалем в должной мере. Слои Мундигака были подвергнуты радиокарбоновой датировке в лабораториях в Чикаго и во Франции (р. 258). Лаборатория чикагского университета дала для слоя III, 2 дату 2625(±300) г. до н.э., что полностью соответствует предлагаемой нами хронологии. Даты французской лаборатории дали противоречивые результаты

³ *Relative Chronologies in Old World Archeology* (Chicago, 1954), p. 61.

⁴ W. A. Fairservis, "The Chronology of the Harappan Civilisation and the Aryan Invasions." *Man*, Nov. 1959, p. 154.

⁵ W. A. Fairservis. *Archeological Surveys in the Zhob and Loralai Districts* (New York, 1959), fig. 15, 52 and J. M. Casal, fig. 51, 32.

(I, 5 — 2037 г. до н.э.; III, 1 — 1036 г. до н.э.; III, 5 — 2253 г. до н.э.). Разумеется, вопросы относительной и абсолютной хронологии названных выше памятников ещё долгое время будут предметом специальных исследований.

Несогласие с Ж. М. Касалем в вопросах хронологии ни в коей мере не умаляет важности его публикации, посвященной Мундигаку. Она по-новому освещает целый ряд сторон древней истории Афганистана и соседних стран. Так, можно только согласиться с Ж. М. Касалем в том, что поселение Мундигак I с его керамикой, сделанной с помощью гончарного круга, было скорее всего основано племенами, двигающимися на восток из Ирана (р. 118). Видимо это был довольно сложный и длительный процесс, поскольку материалы Rana Ghundai II, также имеющие иранские параллели, в целом мало сходны с Мундигаком. В этом расселении известную роль мог сыграть обмен лазуритом, во второй половине IV тыс. до н.э. широко распространяющегося в Иране, Средней Азии и Месопотамии.

Очень интересно открытие на поселении Мундигак IV обводной стены, монументальной архитектуры и круглой скульптуры. Перед нами небольшой городок (town), резиденция варварского князька на периферии древнеиндийской цивилизации. По уровню развития Мундигак IV напоминает Урук южной Месопотамии. Видимо аналогичен был уровень развития земледельческих общин Белуджистана.

Расписная керамика Мундигака обнаруживает тесные связи с соседними странами, что подробно рассматривается Ж. М. Касалем (pp. 98–105, 111–120). Нам представляется, что при этом следует осторожнее проводить прямые аналогии между материалами Афганистана и типами керамики Элама и Шумера. Рассматривая связи между Мундигаком и Южной Туркменией, Ж. М. Касаль не имел основных публикаций, что отрицательно сказалось на его выводах. Я не разделяю его мнения о том, что Quetta ware складывается в С. Белуджистане и Ю. Афганистане на основе традиций Суз и

отсюда распространяется в Ю. Туркмению (Geoksyur). Основной мотив геоксюрской керамики — крест с ромбом и четырьмя треугольниками по его углам — отсутствует в Кветте и в конечном итоге восходит к композиции из четырех ланей на блюдах Самарры. Следует ожидать открытия сходной с Геоксюром культуры в Хорасане, откуда это влияние, видимо, проникло в Туркмению. Отмечу, что крупные сосуды с полихромной росписью Мундигака IV (fig. 91) весьма близки аналогичным изделиям комплекса Намазга IV, отражающий переживания Geoksyur-ware.

Ж. М. Касаль сопоставляет керамику Мундигака V с посудой Чуста в Фергане и полагает, что упадок Мундигака IV завершился вторжением в Афганистан ферганских племён (pp. 104, 119). Действительно, керамика Чуста и Мундигака V имеет ряд общих черт, хотя в целом Чуст более примитивен. Известные сейчас памятники Чуста однако нельзя датировать более ранним временем, чем конец II тыс. до н.э. Так, на Дальверзине найдены литейные формы для удил типа Сиалк некрополь В, а слои датированы 1090 (± 120) и 760 (± 120) гг. до н.э. Мундигак V, если даже принять предлагаемые изменения в хронологии, едва ли можно будет датировать позднее первой половины II тыс. до н.э. Возможно открытие памятников раннего этапа Чуста позволит подтвердить вполне вероятное предположение Ж. М. Касалья. Во всяком случае показательно, что упадок Мундигака приходится на одно время с упадком хараппских городов Синда и Пенджаба, Гисара III и Шах-Тепе, крупных поселений Намазга V в Туркмении, поселений Сеистана и культуры Кулли. Видимо в конце III — I пол. II тыс. до н.э. имело место перемещение целого ряда племенных групп в областях примыкающих к Иранскому плато и скорее всего с этими перемещениями следует связывать распространение ариев в Индостане. Превосходная книга Ж. М. Касалья даёт новый материал для изучения этого вопроса также как и целого ряда других проблем.

A Vienna Demotic Papyrus on Eclipse- and Lunar-Omina. By RICHARD A. PARKER. Providence, R.I.: Brown University Press, 1959. Pp. 59 + 9 plates. \$7.50.

In this volume Professor Parker makes available a papyrus which was first acquired by the Archduke Rainer about 1880 but which for over three-quarters of a century lay unread in the National Library at Vienna. No one could be better equipped to undertake this task than the present editor, since he has devoted many years to the study of Egyptian astronomical texts. The manuscript was in a lamentably fragmentary state, but Parker has painstakingly assembled the pieces, having due regard to the structure of the fibers. Enough can now be restored for us to grasp the significance of the text.

The demotic hand closely resembles that of *P. Krall*, and may be dated accordingly to the end of the second century or the beginning of the third century A.D. The original work, however, is clearly much earlier. Although astrological in character, it contains no reference to the zodiac, which first appeared in Mesopotamia in the fourth century B.C., and made its way to Egypt by the third. Parker shrewdly observes that the equation of the Babylonian month Nisan with IIII *ḫt* of the Egyptian calendar pushes the date of the first section of the document back to the period between 625 and 482 B.C., and the probable mention of Darius I (521–486 B.C.) narrows it still further to the late sixth or early fifth century B.C.

The work falls into two sections of different authorship. The first, consisting of at least five columns, deals with solar and lunar eclipses and the omens to be deduced from them. These are "judicial" predictions; that is to say, they concern a country and its ruler rather than individuals. Since such eclipse omens were compiled long before this time in Mesopotamia, some influences from the latter quarter would not be unexpected. For instance, the Vienna text apportions months, hours, and divisions of the sky to various countries, viz. Egypt, Crete, Syria,

Amor, and "Hebrew (land)."¹ This is a feature of Babylonian omen texts, in which the countries are Akkad, Elam, Amurru, and Subartu or Gutiu. Even more striking evidence of Mesopotamian influence is the use of the Babylonian names for the months, and especially the fact that the listing begins with Nisan, the first month of the Babylonian year. The reviewer wonders whether the unusual employment of the term *wr*, "chief," for the ruler of Egypt, common to both sections (3/7, 4/27[?], 7/13, 15/8), is a reflection of the Akkadian title *rubû* which is similarly used in the Babylonian omens. Parker shows, however, that the Egyptian author by no means slavishly copied his Babylonian prototypes but adapted them to Egyptian conditions. In this demotic work we bridge the gap between the Babylonian sources and the treatise of the Egyptians Nechepso and Petosiris, probably of the mid-second century B.C., which was quoted by the Greek Hephæstion of Thebes (fl. A.D. 381).

The second section originally consisted of at least seventeen columns, and is concerned solely with lunar omens. The text is provided with colored vignettes illustrating the lunar phenomena described. It is likely that this work also owes something to Mesopotamian sources, but the evidence is not as striking as in the case of the first section.

Parker's admirable transliteration and translation of this most interesting papyrus leave little room for improvement. The reviewer can offer only a few minor suggestions. In 3/10 the reading *n̄y·w*, "those of" (Copt. ⲛⲁⲩ), seems preferable in the context to *ṣ̄y·w*. The word read *ṭn* in 8/6 might be *kny*, "strong, powerful." The sign following *wn* in 8/14, 12/2, 10, 13/11, and Frag. 1a/2, is regarded by Parker as the hair determinative. However, it does not accompany this word in 9/2, 16/4, Frag. 2b/2, or the second occurrence in Frag. 1a/2, and is much more likely to be a writing of *nb*, "gold." In 13/2 f. *ḥt* is surely to be under-

stood as the word for "smoke" rather than "sail," and *šyš*, despite the lack of the sail determinative, must be "dust" (Copt. ⲩⲟⲩⲉⲩⲩ). The two words are found in association also in *Mythus* 12/21-24.

This volume is a most valuable contribution to demotic studies, and its demonstration of the contacts between Mesopotamia and Egypt in the area of omen literature makes it particularly significant.

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Die Chronik des Ibn Ijās. Edited by MOHAMED MOSTAFA. Zweite Auflage. Fünfter Teil. "Bibliotheca Islamica 5e." Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1961. Pp. ix + 13 + 494.

This is the second edition of the concluding volume of Ibn Iyās's chronicle *badā' i' al-zuhūr fī waqā' i' al-duhūr*, covering the years 922-928/1516-1522. The first edition of 1932 was prepared by P. Kahle and M. Mostafa, who also by his consequent work was well qualified to undertake the new edition. There is no need to emphasize again the value of this particular volume, which is now also available in the French translation of G. Wiet (*Journal d'un bourgeois du Caire*, Vol. 2 [1960]), as a source for the history of Egypt during the time of the Ottoman conquest and the first years following it. Students of Islamic history therefore will be grateful to the editor and all those who made the new edition possible for their efforts.

The second edition differs from the first by the breaking up of the text into a greater number of paragraphs, by the correction of a few errors in the author's autograph and the disappearance of the appended list of corrections of printer's errors. On the other hand the editor in many places has succumbed, contrary to his stated intention, to the tendency to subject the rather colloquial language of the author's manuscript to the rules of classical Arabic spelling and grammar. This has led to a number of inconsistencies and unnecessarily swelled the

¹ Written *ḥbr*, *ybr*, or *ybr*. Perhaps this is derived from Akkadian *ēber nārī*, a term descriptive of the land lying to the west of the Euphrates.

apparatus criticus. In this respect the first edition was more satisfactory.

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A Short History of North Africa. By JANE SOAMES NICKERSON. New York: The Devin-Adair Company, 1961. Pp. 252. \$4.50.

Most of the so called "short histories" are written on the doubtful premise that they will "fill a gap" in our expanding concern for areas on which the searchlights of modern political interest happen to be focused. The hasty nature of the motivations produces, then, almost as a rule, makeshift remedies, where it is attempted to encompass and to interpret millennia of history on a couple of hundreds of pages, written by authors who could be called the modern professionals of dilettantism.

Unfortunately, the present book does not escape being included in this general category of makeshift remedies to our insufficient historical knowledge of North Africa.

Aside from the author's more detailed division of the volume into individual chapters, the book could be considered as consisting of two main sections: from pre-history to the Islamic period, and from the French conquest of Algeria (1830) until the present time (roughly 1960). In between lies the relatively long transitional chapter on the Barbary Corsairs. This division is not so much marked by the natural chronological threshold that separates antiquity from modernity as by the different nature of sources on which the author relies in her study of different periods.

To begin with, there obviously are no traces of direct use of sources in the ancient and medieval chapters. (But this should, maybe, not even be expected in a similar type of book). The author relies exclusively on a rather limited, standard western historical repertoire, with its vices and virtues, without even pretending to make any critical distinctions. This approach,

although unoriginal, is at least a fairly safe ground to walk on.

As soon as the author passes to the modern period, however, one painfully notices the fact that, wherever acceptable secondary sources are not available, the author is unable to supply substantial factual material of her own. Thus her only sources of information become transcripts from official French political statements or from French periodicals. The final effect, therefore, becomes that of a retelling (and only rarely of analysis) of western colonial policies with regard to the various North African regions or countries. The total absence of any autochthonous point of view turns this second section of the book into European colonial history in North Africa. The reader's curiosity in North Africa properly remains unsatisfied. The transitional chapter on the Barbary Corsairs, being a ground more familiar to the author, could have become a favorable exception, had the author used more facts instead of recurring to humanitarian, pietistic pronouncements.

The author's main sympathy seems to lie with the Berber element. This, however, is not so much due to her conviction as to the fact that she draws practically every bit of her information about the Berbers from French "Berberophiles" who followed E. F. Gautier in the creation of a rather romantic notion of the Berbers as "noble savages" more akin to Europeans than to their Arab conquerors. This type of anthropology permeates a large sector of the western view of the Berbers: from encyclopedias (*Britannica*, for example) to books like *Berbères et arabes: la Berbèrie est un pays européen* (1950), by Edouard Brémont. The fact that some Berbers call themselves *Imazighen* (nobles), if added to the otherwise not quite established etymology of Berber as *barbarus*, could—with a grain of irony and as a play of words only—produce the hybrid "noble savage."

One would expect that a writer of books on North Africa were most familiar with the Islamic phase of its history, since it is the most permanent and vital historical element.

Unfortunately this does not apply to the author of the present book. On top of not displaying convincing knowledge in that field, she even betrays a certain bias against everything that has Islamic or Arab connotations. Thus she calls "unfortunate" the present geo-political term "Arab" used in relation with North Africa (p. 3). Out of all chronological and logical context the author compares St. Augustin's education to "the mechanical learning-by-rote which forms the groundwork of Muslim schools . . ." (p. 34), or emits unasked-for pronouncements of value regarding Islam, such as: "As heirs of the Christian tradition, we are perpetually and continually conscious of their (i.e. the Islamic doctrines') insufficiency" (p. 56); or the self-righteous sweeping statement that "conversion is the only certain method of alliance with Mohammedans, to whom (in theory) tolerance is incomprehensible" (p. 57). Aside from the ignorance revealed by the putting into brackets of "in theory," the question could be asked whether there were other "certain methods" of alliance with the Christian world in the Middle Ages. In her criticism of the Islamic side, such questions do not seem to bother the author, however.

The treatment of the pre-Muslim period is the least controversial and constitutes an almost textbook-like *tour de force* through too many centuries. A textbook stylistic item, for example: "The Vandal fleet crossed the Mediterranean in A.D. 429, but St. Augustine died before the fall of Hippo" (pp. 37-38). But even there the author is not careful enough in her use of terms like that of the medieval "count" for a Roman

"comes" (p. 40), or "proletariat" for the Berber peasants of Roman Africa.

While dealing with the Muslim period all the reliability of the author's information vanishes. Her only explanation of the westward sweep of Arab expansion becomes once again a rather romantic hypothesis of E. F. Gautier, namely, that it was determined by the ancient Punic sphere of influence (p. 58).

Because of the scarcity of historical information on the early period of Arab rule in North Africa, the author generalizes that: "intellectual curiosity was not awakened in the Moslem world until much later" (p. 53) (after the eleventh century?). The author seems to lack all historical perspective as far as Europe's intellectual importance in the earlier Middle Ages is concerned. Speaking of those centuries of Europe, she still dares to say that with the Arab conquest of North Africa (and, obviously, Spain), "the door was shut to Western influence and Western culture" (p. 62). This lack of perspective is proven furthermore when the author tries to explain the burgeoning civilization of Al-Andalus as apparently due solely to the Arabs' having inherited the native Peninsular tradition of scholarship (p. 68).

A further enumeration of mistakes and misconceptions would be too monotonous. Authors of "short histories" and of impersonal, unoriginal books in general should remember, however, that in such works the specific weight of errors inevitably increases.

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THE SUPPRESSION OF THE HIGH PRIEST AMENHOTEP

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OVER the past two decades various interpretations¹ have been given of the suppression of the High Priest Amenhotep referred to in the following testimony given by a certain porter Ahautinufe in Year 1 of the Renaissance:

He said, "The barbarians came and seized the Temple (i.e., Medinet Habu), while I was in charge of some asses belonging to my father. Peheti, a barbarian, seized hold of me and took me to Ipip, it being for as long as six months (already) that Amenhotep, who used to be High Priest of Amon, had been suppressed. It was after this portable chest had been misappropriated and set on fire that it happened I returned, (upon) nine whole months of the suppression of Amenhotep, who used to be High Priest of Amon. Now when order was restored, the Mayor of the West of Ne, the scribe of the treasury Pesemennakhte, and the scribe of the army Kashuty said, 'Let us collect the wood lest the storemen set fire to it.'"²

Until Fecht's consideration of the so-called Moscow literary letter³ as possible evidence bearing upon the difficulties encountered by the High Priest Amenhotep in the latter

¹ E.g., Von Beckerath, *Tanis und Theben* ("Ägyptologische Forschungen," Vol. XVI [1951]), pp. 91-94; Helck, *MIO*, IV (1956), 174-78; Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs* (1961), pp. 301-302; Arkell, *A History of the Sudan*, 2d ed. (1961), p. 108; Fecht, *ZAS*, LXXXVII (1962), 12-31; Černý in Donadoni, ed., *Le Fonti indirette della storia egiziana* (1963), pp. 51-52; Kees, *Die Hohenpriester des Amun von Karnak von Herihor bis zum Ende der Äthiopienzeit* (1964), pp. 2-6; and Černý, "Egypt from the Death of Ramesses III to the End of the Twenty-first Dynasty" (*The Cambridge Ancient History*, rev. ed., Vol. II, Chap. XXXV [1965]), pp. 27-31.

² Papyrus Mayer A, 6, 4-11, published in Peet, *The Mayer Papyri A & B*, with corrections in Peet, *JEA*, XII (1926), 255, and Peet, *The Great Tomb-Robberies of the Twentieth Egyptian Dynasty*, Vol. II, Pl. XXIV.

³ Fecht, *loc. cit.*, is a skillful yet daring interpretation of the Moscow papyrus prior to its actual publication in Korostovtsev, *Ieraticheskii Papirus*

127. Fecht, not having a complete copy of the text, based his remarks upon a preliminary report given by Korostovtsev, "An Unpublished Ancient Egyptian Literary Text" (*XXV International Congress of Orientalists, Papers Presented by the USSR Delegation*, Moscow, 1960) and upon citations of certain passages included in the *Belegstellen* of the Berlin Dictionary. From Korostovtsev's edition we learn that the writer of the letter was a certain "W-r-mš, the son of Huy," whereas it is known that Amenhotep was the son of the High Priest Ramessesnakhte. It is conceivable that we are actually to understand, "The Chief of Seers Huy," with Huy being the nickname of Amenhotep, but this demands assuming either that the clearly written s3 "son" is an outright error or that it was inserted intentionally so as to conceal the true identity of the writer of the letter. In the light of what we shall have to contribute on the subject of Amenhotep's suppression, I cannot see how we can justifiably relate the Moscow papyrus to Amenhotep's career in the manner attempted by Fecht.

part of the Twentieth Dynasty, the only other explicit reference to the high priest's troubles has been the terse expression, "the war of the high priest," also in one of the tomb-robbery papyri.⁴ With the exception of Von Beckerath recent historians have been of the opinion that this event marked the end of Amenhotep's career as high priest, an office which he had held at least as early as Year 10 of Ramesses IX. Amenhotep's suppression is generally believed to have taken place somewhat early in the reign of Ramesses XI, that is, before his tenth or twelfth year.⁵ However, authorities have differed in their interpretations of the significance of this event and Amenhotep's position vis-à-vis other important personalities of the time, the king and the Viceroy of Kush Panehsi.

Some of those who have recently written on the subject have regarded Panehsi as the one who removed the high priest from the scene, probably with direct approval on the part of Ramesses XI, who was desirous of curtailing the growing power of the high priest, which frequently is stated to be graphically portrayed at the time of Ramesses IX in two famous scenes on the transverse axis of the Karnak temple where Amenhotep is rewarded before the king, whose height in the relief is the same as that of the high priest.⁶ On the other hand, Von Beckerath took the position that Panehsi, acting on the king's behalf, restored Amenhotep to his former position after the period of suppression. A third alternative is to absolve Panehsi from a major role in this event as Gardiner⁷ seems to suggest in stating, "Chronological considerations make it impossible to link up this conflict with a revolt in which a certain Pinhasi was the protagonist." Gardiner saw the high priest as rivaling the king and meeting "his nemesis" in "the war of the high priest."

Kees,⁸ who recently re-examined the problem, raised the question whether, in view of unsettled conditions in Thebes, Amenhotep would actually have dared risk a coup d'état against the crown without the support of the Viceroy of Kush Panehsi, who commanded a strong military force of Nubian troops and who, Kees believed, possessed the trust of Ramesses XI. Kees therefore suggested that the activity against the high priest was a Theban insurrection spurred on by discontent over administrative mismanagement and resentment of the high priest's wealth. In connection with their attack on the person of Amenhotep, the Thebans stormed the western high gate at Medinet Habu in order to gain access to the temple stores. Although Kees believed that Amenhotep met his death at this time, he was not certain through whose guilt it was achieved.⁹ As for Panehsi, Kees regarded him as an agent of Ramesses XI, who ordered him to quell the Theban insurrection as well as to liquidate a revolt in Hardai (Cynopolis). Such a view, in my opinion, tends to remove the "war of the high priest" from the area of a supposed power struggle between the pharaoh and the high priest.

Among the inscriptions of the Twentieth Dynasty located on the transverse axis of the Karnak temple is one carved on the right half of the exterior of the east wall of the peripteral shrine just south-east of the seventh pylon.¹⁰ The shrine itself is an earlier

⁴ Papyrus BM 10052, 13, 24 (Peet, *The Great Tomb-Robberies*, Vol. II, Pl. XXXIII).

⁵ Kees, *op. cit.*, p. 3, however, believes that the event took place somewhere between the twelfth and fifteenth years of Ramesses XI.

⁶ Lefebvre, *Inscriptions concernant les grands prêtres d'Amon Romê-Roij et Amenhotep*, Pl. II, and Wilson, *The Culture of Ancient Egypt*, Fig. 29b.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 301.

⁸ *Op. cit.*, pp. 2-6.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

¹⁰ Nelson, *Key Plans Showing Locations of Theban Temple Decorations*, Pl. XI, location L 86.

PLATE VIII



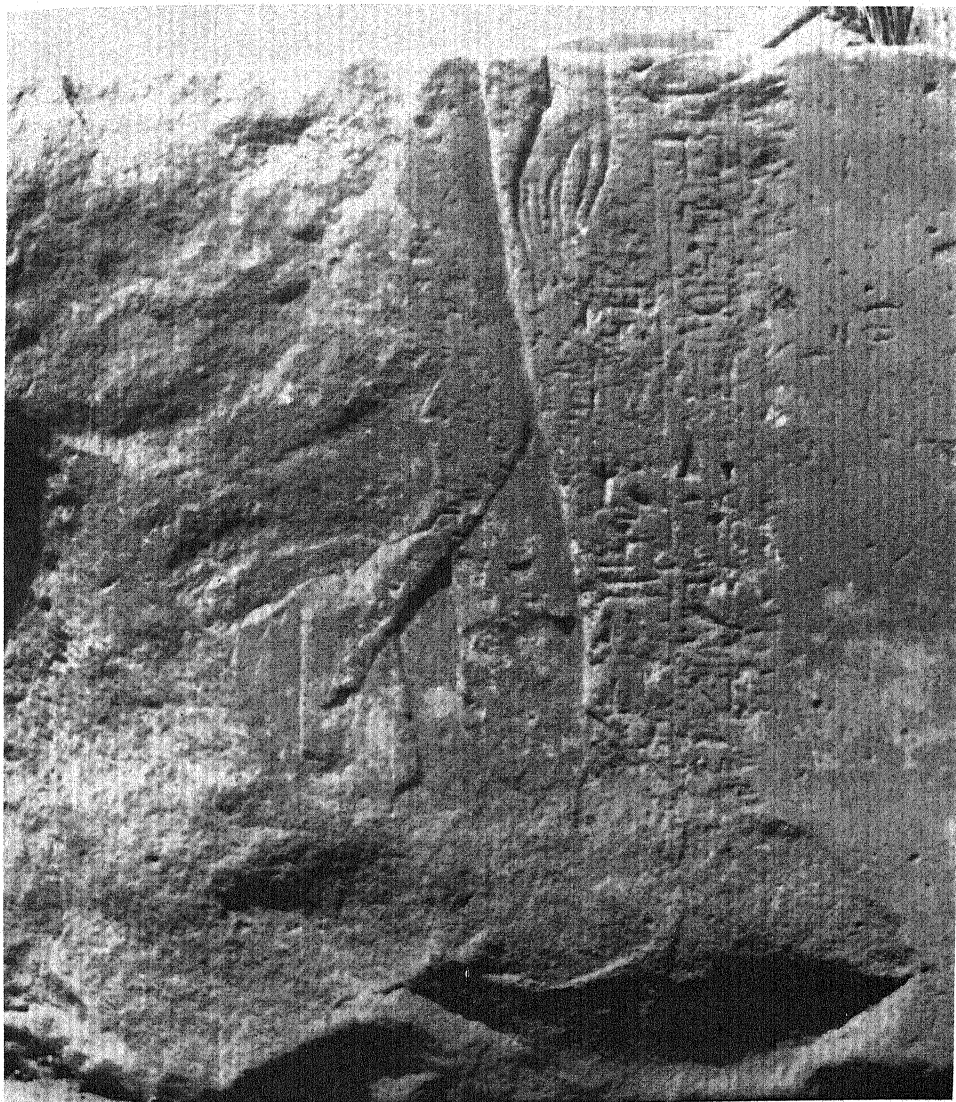
INSCRIPTION OF THE HIGH PRIEST AMENHOTEP, LEFT PORTION (COMPARE FIG. 1)

PLATE IX



INSCRIPTION OF THE HIGH PRIEST AMENHOTEP, MIDDLE PORTION (COMPARE FIG. 2)

PLATE X



INSCRIPTION OF THE HIGH PRIEST AMENHOTEP, RIGHT PORTION (COMPARE FIG. 3)

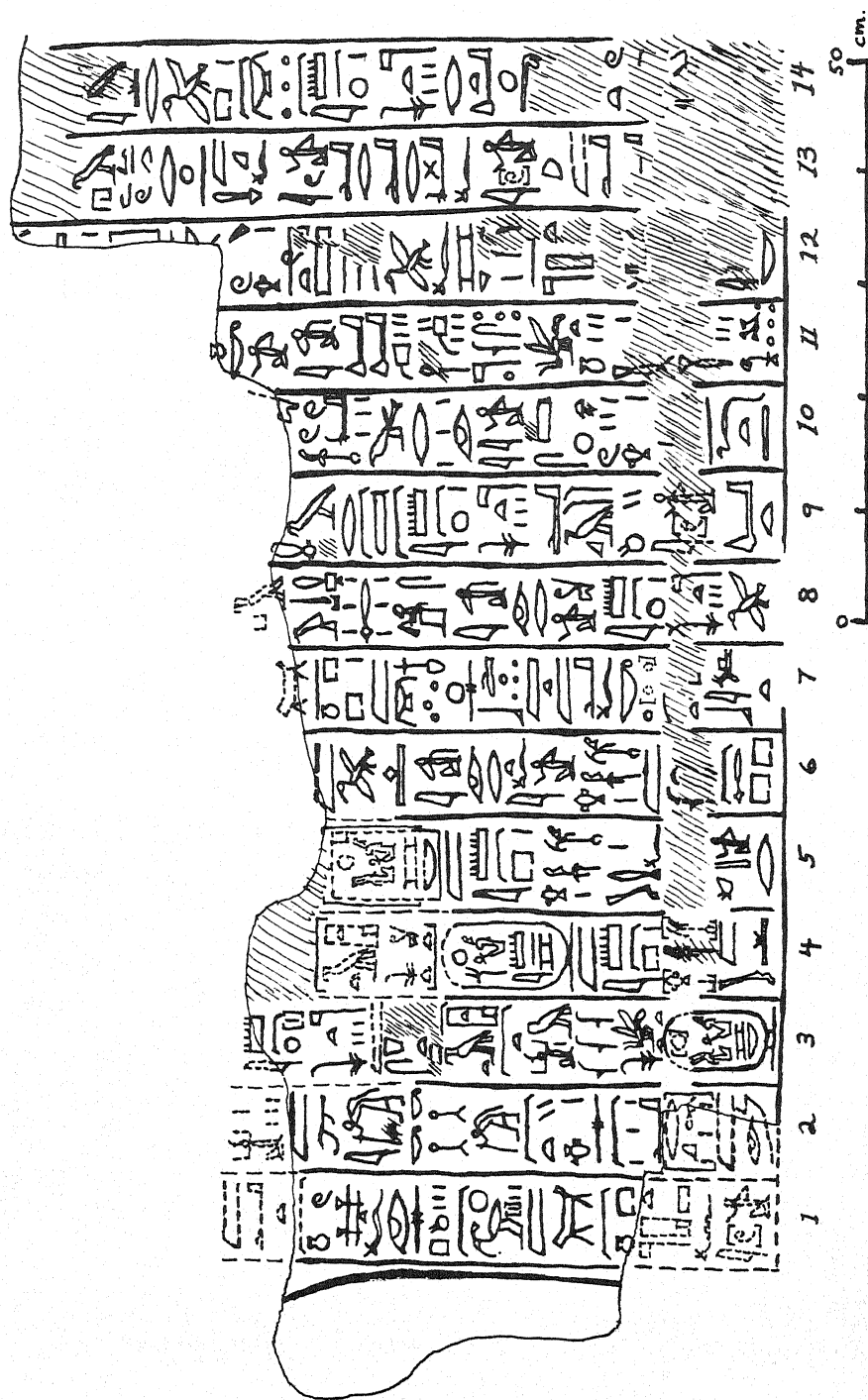


FIG. 1.—Inscription of the High Priest Amenhotep, ll. 1-14



FIG. 2.—Inscription of the High Priest Amenhotep, ll. 15-29

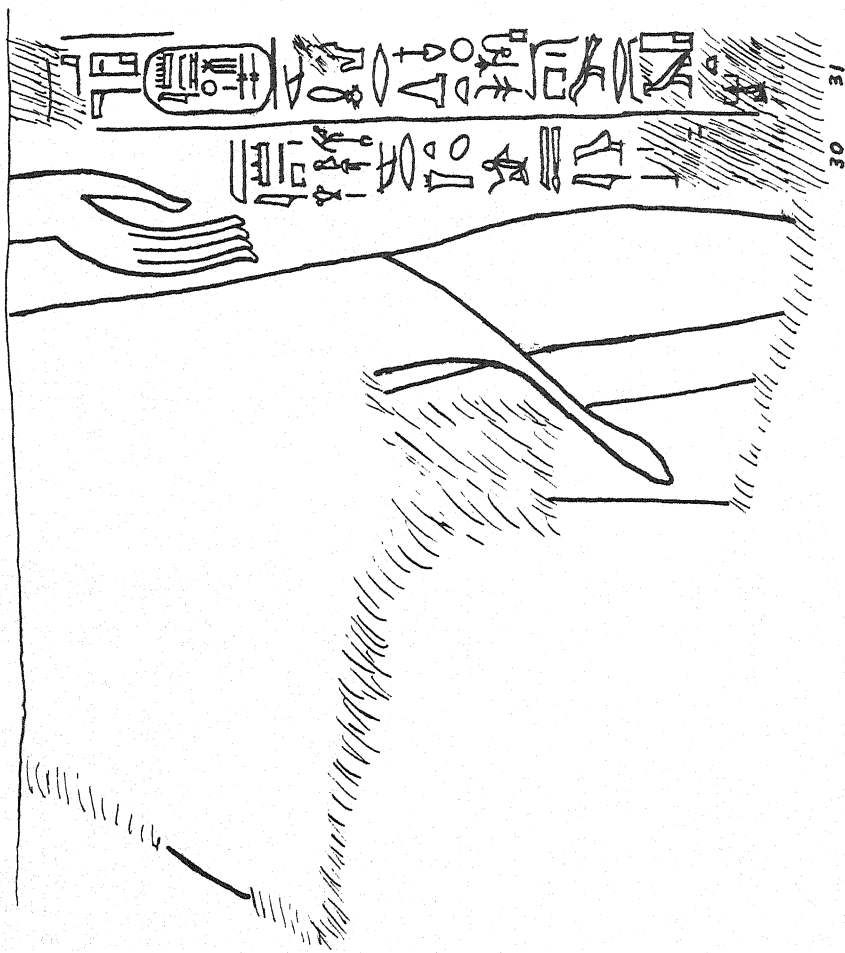


FIG. 3.—Inscription of the High Priest Amenhotep, ll. 30-31

structure, erected by Thutmose III,¹¹ and seems to have been named, "Amon, Enduring of Monuments."¹² This edifice, with doorways at its east and west ends, contained an inner shrine of alabaster and served as a wayside station for the portable bark of Amon in the course of festival processions.¹³ Although the content of the inscription and the remains of the scene in incised relief bear no particular relation to the function of the shrine, there is evidence from a trace of relief to the left of the initial column of text (see Fig. 1) that the doorway facing the sacred lake had been blocked up at some date prior to the carving of the Twentieth Dynasty material. This trace consists of a curved line, which I can only interpret as the calf of the leg of a standing male figure facing south, away from the inscription. This person must have occupied at least part of the space where the original doorway was, being executed upon blocking stones that have since been removed.¹⁴ If the figure wearing a leopard's skin to the right of the text is the high priest, it is probable that this trace to the left of the inscription is of the leg of a king.¹⁵

This document, which was first published in reverse by Mariette,¹⁶ with subsequent additions and corrections by Maspero,¹⁷ was translated by Breasted in his *Ancient Records of Egypt*, IV, §§490-91. His translation, which until the present has remained the only one, was based upon Mariette and Maspero as well as a photograph of the inscription. While Lefebvre did not include it in his *Inscriptions concernant les grands prêtres d'Amon Romé-Roij et Amenhotep*, he does mention its existence in his *Histoire des grands prêtres d'Amon de Karnak*, pp. 186-87, 268-69. Although the name of the individual who composed the inscription is lost, it is clear from the content of the text that a High Priest of Amon was the author. Maspero, Breasted, Lefebvre, and Helck¹⁸ have been of the opinion that this high priest was Amenhotep.

The copy of the inscription given here, which does not pretend to be a facsimile (Figs. 1-3; see also Pls. VIII-X), is the result of a number of visits to the wall made at various times of day. It is hoped that at some future date this text, together with other historical inscriptions on the transverse axis of the Karnak temple, will receive adequate publication in facsimile form. With regard to the following translation it will be observed that the opening lines are restored from the first two lines of inscription on the plinth of the famous Munich statue of Bakenkhons II,¹⁹ who served as High Priest of Amon during the second half of Ramesses II's reign. Although practical considerations with regard to space have led me not to introduce a restoration of the first lines into my copy but simply to render them in translation inclosed in brackets. I have estimated the original height of our inscription to have been approximately 150 cm. Thus only the lowest third of the text and scene is preserved.

¹¹ Cf. Borchardt, *Ägyptische Tempel mit Umgang* ("Beiträge zur ägyptischen Bauforschung und Altertumskunde," Heft 2), pp. 90-93, and Barguet, *Le Temple d'Amon-Ré à Karnak*, pp. 266-67.

¹² Cf. Nims, *JNES*, XIV (1955), 113.

¹³ Cf. Alexander Badawy, *Chronique d'Égypte*, XXXVIII (1963), 79.

¹⁴ If our estimate of the original height of the inscription as having been 150 cm., see below p. 77, is correct, the intercolumnar spaces of the east side of the chapel must also have been filled with blocking stones. For a similar situation in which secondary relief was continued upon blocking stones now lost, cf. Roeder, *Der Felsentempel von Bet el-Wali*, Pls. 40, 42, 45, and 46.

¹⁵ A parallel for the absence of the bull's tail generally shown appended to a Ramesside pharaoh is to be found in the nearby scene of the rewarding of Amenhotep, cf. Wilson, *loc. cit.*

¹⁶ Karnak, *étude topographique et archéologique*, Planches, Pl. 39.

¹⁷ *Les Momies royales de Dér el-Bahari* ("Mission Archéologique Française au Caire, Mémoires," Vol. I), p. 668, n. 2.

¹⁸ *Materialien zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Neuen Reiches*, I, 115 (31).

¹⁹ Published in Devéria, *Mémoires et fragments*, I (= Maspero, ed., *Bibliothèque égyptologique*, Vol. IV), 275-324. For further bibliography, cf. Lefebvre, *Histoire*, p. 253.

Whether the high priest of this inscription directly copied the Bakenkhons introduction or whether both derived from a common source providing cliché introductions for autobiographical texts of high priests is difficult to determine. The fact that we do apparently have an identical ordering of stock phrases found at random in other inscriptions tends to suggest that our high priest actually had the Bakenkhons statue as a guide.

TRANSLATION

(1) [The prince, count,^a and High Priest of Amon Amenhotep, justified, says:^b "I was one straightforward and just, useful to his lord, respecting the will of his god, walking upon] his path, and accomplishing deeds of benefaction within his temple^c while I was (2) [chief overseer of works^a in the Estate of Amon, being a confidant devoted to his lord. O all you people who are understanding in your^b hearts, beings^c who are upon earth and who will come after me throughout millions of] millions (of years) after old age and longevity, whose hearts are experienced in discerning^d (3) [merit, I inform you of my nature while (I) was upon earth in every office which I held since my birth.]^a

"... Amon-Re, King of the gods, in the broad hall of the Mansion of Millions of Years of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Nebmare-meramon (Ramesses VI)^b (4) ... [the Mansion of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt] Usermare-meramon (Ramesses III) in the Estate of Amon [on] the West of [Thebes.]^a Again (5) ... the Mansion of Neb[mare-meramon] in the Estate of Amon on the West of Thebes. Again His Majesty heard my plea^a 'for' (6) ... at the time when my father went to rest^a on the West of Thebes in Year *x* of Pharaoh^b (7) ... inside the house with fine gold, genuine lapis-lazuli, turquoise, 'hard stone',^a quartzite,^b (8) ... large and costly pectorals,^a which I made for Amon-Re, King of the gods, 'my' (9) [lord] ... like^a ... the name of Amon-Re, King of the gods, *exactly*. I caused (10) ... 'of' great artistry.^a I 'embellished' them^b upon ...^c forever. (11) ... It was I who gave barley, emmer,^a incense, honey, date[s], green plants, flowers, (12) ... 'Mansion of the lord' ... upon an aroura 'of land', his lake^a 'belonging to' the temple ... 'every' ... (13) ...^a to gladden him, and I accomplished it. I 'demolished'^b ... (14) ... 'introduced' into the House of Gold^a for Amon-Re, King of the gods, to cause 'him to be given attention'^b ... (15) ... I did them. Never had the High Priests of Amon from whom I took over 'affairs'^a ... (16) ... I [spent]^a amounting to five and a half years.^b May^c Amon-Re, King of the gods, my lord, give me life and health, a long lifetime and a good old age ... (17) ... through the many benefactions and many arduous tasks^a which I have performed for him in his estate.

"(18) ... seized it.^a He spent eight whole months in it, and I suffered *exceedingly* under him. I (19) ... (saying), '... my lord. I am your servant. I have been engaged in exerting myself for you^a ... your ... s.' (20) ... Amon-Re, King of the gods, heard my plea quickly without his ever having permitted delay ... (21) ... [Amon-Re] took cognizance of me in the wrong done to me,^a and I appealed to Pharaoh, my lord, the one who has caused (22) ... [the Mansion of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt] ... [-setep]en[re]^a in the Estate of Amon and the Mansion of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Usermare-meramon in the Estate of Amon on the West of Thebes to [the] place^b (23) ... place.

"O you High Priests of Amon, who will come after me, do not neglect^a (24) ... I have accomplished for him benefactions, (for) he has suppressed^a the one who had suppressed

me quickly without his ever having permitted delay. (25) . . . [I have trained] many recruits^a in his estate. I have instructed them regarding (their) functions. He has caused [me] to maintain control over^b . . . (26) . . . The Two Lands . . . '[I] being in the fa[vor] of^{1a} . . . (27) . . . [I have planted]^a many orchards . . . (28) . . . within them. [I have] built . . . (29) . . . s successfully."

Behind the standing figure of the high priest:

(30) . . . in the Estate of Amon on the West of Thebes, Meribarse,^a justified, . . . (31) . . . the Temple of Ramesses-meramon, Beloved-like-Ptah,^a at Memphis,^b the royal scribe and chief steward of the Mansion of Millions [of Years] . . .

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

1^a. Like Bakenkhons, Amenhotep bore the honorific titles *r-p't* and *h'ty-c*, cf. Lefebvre, *Histoire*, p. 272.

1^b. As Lefebvre, *Histoire*, p. 128, n. 2, has observed for the Bakenkhons inscription, so also the author of our text must have been alive at the time when it was carved.

1^c. The wall is no longer preserved below *m-hnw*. Maspero, *loc. cit.*, gives two *hwt*-signs but not the *ntr*-sign, which he undoubtedly mistook to be *hwt*.

2^a. For Amenhotep as "chief overseer of works," cf. Lefebvre, *Histoire*, p. 271.

2^b. To accord with English usage *.sn*, "their," is rendered by "your." For this use of the third person in the vocative, cf. Grapow, *Wie die Alten Ägypter sich anredeten, wie sie sich grüssten und wie sie miteinander sprachen*, 1st ed., I, 45.

2^c. For *wnnyw*, "beings," cf. *Wb.*, I, 310, 1.

2^d. Here Mariette's copy is correct as against Maspero's later revision.

3^a. For the expression, cf. Papyrus Anastasi I, 9, 5, and 27, 7 (Gardiner, *Egyptian Hieratic Texts*, Vol. I, Pls. 18 and 38).

3^b. This inscription contains the sole certain reference to the mortuary temple of Ramesses VI, cf. Helck, *Materialien*, I, 115. On the verso of the post-Ramesside Papyrus Prachov, published by Turaev, *Papyrus Prachov*, p. 3 (cf. Spiegelberg, *OLZ*, 1928, p. 848), mention is made of the "Mansion of Nebmare-meramon," which, because of the added "meramon," appears to me more likely to be the mortuary temple of Ramesses VI than of Amenhotep III, *pace* Kees, *Das Priestertum im ägyptischen Staat*, p. 142, n. 8. I concur with Černý, "Egypt from the Death of Ramesses III," p. 11, in believing that Ramesses VI probably usurped Ramesses V's mortuary temple just as he appropriated his tomb. Among the scant remains of this huge temple, patterned after Medinet Habu and located above the lower sections of the causeways of Mentuhotep and Thutmose III, were discovered fragments bearing the names of Ramesses VI and his two predecessors.

4^a. I.e., the mortuary temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu.

5^a. The length of the lacuna after *whm hm.f* suits better the restoration of *hr* rather than *r*, which, however, is the more common preposition used in this idiom, cf. *Wb.*, I, 342, 14. After the lacuna the reading is *sdm mdw.i*, not *hrw.i*.

6^a. For the construction involving the periphrasis of a defined infinitive after the preposition *m*, cf. Papyrus Louvre 3230, recto 10 (Peet, *JEA*, Vol. XII [1926], Pl. XVII), and Astarte 2, x + 19, with Gardiner's comment thereto in *Studies Presented to F. Ll. Griffith*, pp. 84-85. The tense is past or relative past.

6^b. *M h't-[sp x] n Pr-ε* is almost certainly the correct reading of the existing traces, *sp*

and the year number being lost in the lacuna. *M wd n Pr-3*, "by the command of Pharaoh," is a less likely alternative.

7^a. After *mfk3t* one might be tempted to read the traces as *3t*, but the curve does not suit the 3-sign as made elsewhere in this inscription. The curve may be that of *r*, and I tentatively suggest *rdt* as a possible writing of *rw3t* "hard stone."

7^b. For *b33t*, "quartzite," cf. Harris, *Lexicographical Studies in Ancient Egyptian Minerals*, pp. 75-76.

8^a. For the donation of objects such as pectorals and collars, cf. Helck, *Chronique d'Égypte*, XXXVIII, 45-48, with reference to the collar for the Amon bark.

9^a. Maspero's reading suggests the rendering, "Likewise with (or "in") the name of Amon-Re," but what he took as the owl-*m* appears on the wall to be more like 3 or the *tw*-buzzard.

10^a. Or "great craftsmen," cf. *Wb.*, III, 83, 17.

10^b. Maspero's reading *s3t.w* appears impossible. With Breasted *op. cit.*, p. 240, n. b, I suggest *smnh.w* though no projections of the *mn*-sign are present, and I doubt very much if they were ever carved. The periphrasis through *ir3* suggests a verb of more than three radicals, of which *smnh* would be an example.

10^c. I have been unable to interpret the traces at this point. It is doubtful that the vertical trace below *hr* is of the seat-sign, so that a rendition, "Upon a site for eternity," seems unwarranted.

11^a. For the probable form of the sign used in writing *bty*, "emmer", cf. The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu*, VI, 470, 6.

12^a. *S33t* is certain, but before and after *p3y.f mr* the traces are difficult. *Mr* appears to be determined by two tongues of land and plural strokes.

13^a. I cannot interpret the traces before *r hnm.f*.

13^b. Reading *hm3*, but far from certain. If "demolished" is correct, the reference may be to Amenhotep's tearing down an older structure to make way for a new one.

14^a. On *pr-nbw*, cf. Otto, *Topographie des thebanischen Gauces (Untersuchungen, XVI)*, p. 16.

14^b. Reading *r dt3 hmt. tw.f*, which might also mean, "to cause it (the House of Gold) to be planned for" or "to cause it (gold) to be trebled."

15^a. Reading *33sp.3 n.w hrt*, *33sp.3* being a relative form and *n* meaning "from," cf. Gardiner, *JEA*, XXVII (1941), 60, n. 7.

16^a. Restoring *3ry.3*.

16^b. I have no parallel for the writing of *gs*, "half," above the five units.

16^c. *3Ir* is the form of the third future before nominal subject. For the translation, cf. Gardiner, *JEA*, XVI (1930), 221, Nos. 6 and 7, and Wente, *JNES*, XX (1961), 257 (s).

17^a. For the noun *dnn*, cf. Caminos, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, p. 299, and Gardiner, *JEA*, XLVIII (1962), 61, n. 13.

18^a. The *.s* of *33.s* and *3m.s* presumably refers to the temple or a part thereof.

19^a. For the auxiliary use of *h3*, cf. Gardiner, *Revue d'égyptologie*, VI (1950), 121 (p), and Hintze, *Untersuchungen zu Stil und Sprache neuägyptischer Erzählungen*, pp. 100-101; and for *dnn* "strive," "exert oneself," cf. Gardiner, *JEA*, XLVIII, 61, n. 13.

21^a. Since Late Egyptian *tw.f (hr) sdm* is used to continue the narrative in this text, it seems most probable that *3m.3*, or *ptr.3*, at the beginning of the column is an infinitive with suffix object rather than a *sdm.f* form. A possible restoration is: *tw 3Imn-r3 (hr)*

'm. i (or *ptr. i*). For the nominal use of the infinitive *thi*, "do wrong to," cf. Caminos, *op. cit.*, p. 274, and Caminos, *The Chronicle of Prince Osorkon*, p. 49. One might expect a *t* to appear in the writing of the *status pronominalis* of *thi*, but *p³ thi. i nb*, "all the wrong done to me," BM ostrakon 5637, verso 5-6 (Blackman, *JEA*, Vol. XII [1926], Pl. XXXVII) can be cited as a parallel for its omission.

22^a. A probable reference to the Ramesseum.

22^b. Possibly *r t³ st*.

23^a. *M-ir nnⁱ*, cf. *Wb.*, II, 275, 2ff. with *Belegstellen* for examples of this common Late Egyptian idiom.

24^a. The remarks of Edgerton, *JNES*, VI (1947), 221, n. 11, and subsequently Gardiner, *JEA*, XXXVIII (1952), 28, regarding *thi* and its necessary implication of reprehensible activity do not receive full support from this passage in which Amon is the subject of *thi*.

25^a. Before *ḏ³mw* perhaps restore *shpr. i*, cf. Bakenkhons II Munich statue, line 4 of plinth, in Devéria, *loc. cit.*

25^b. On *ḥ³m*, cf. Gardiner, *ZÄS*, L (1912), 56.

26^a. Restoring *iw. i m ḥst*.

27^a. Restoring *srd. i* before *k³mw*.

30^a. It is uncertain who this Meribarse was. He may have been Amenhotep's grandfather, who served as chief steward of the King's Mansion (*hwt-nsu*), which has been taken as the mortuary temple of Ramesses III, cf. Lefebvre, *Histoire*, pp. 264-65; Kees, *Das Priestertum*, p. 124; Jac. J. Janssen, *Two Ancient Egyptian Ship's Logs*, p. 57, and Černý, "Egypt from the Death of Ramesses III," p. 24. If this identification is correct, then before the name of Meribarse restore perhaps *mr pr wr n hwt Wsr-m³t-R^c-mr³Imn m pr³Imn hr imnt W³st*, "Chief steward of the Mansion of Usermare-meramon in the Estate of Amon on the West of Thebes." Since at this period *m³-hrw* can be used after the name of a person still living, e.g., in the Amenhotep inscription of Year 10 of Ramesses IX (Lefebvre, *Inscriptions*, p. 63), its use after Meribarse's name does not rule out the possibility that he was a contemporary of Amenhotep. Although this name is borne by a number of important persons during the Twentieth Dynasty, cf. Gardiner, *The Wilbour Papyrus*, II, 204, we might single out as a possible candidate Amenhotep's brother Meribarse, who was a god's father of Amon, cf. Kees, *Das Priestertum*, p. 156. It is possible that he subsequently held a position in a temple on the West of Thebes.

31^a. This temple at Memphis is apparently that mentioned in the Wilbour Papyrus, cf. Gardiner, *The Wilbour Papyrus*, II, 13 and 138 (§82), and Helck, *Materialien*, I, 135 (5).

31^b. For the use of the preposition *r* "at," cf. Fairman and Grdseloff, *JEA*, XXXIII (1947), 26. With regard to the orthography of *Mn-nfr*, cf. Ahmad Badawi, *Memphis als zweite Landeshauptstadt im Neuen Reich*, p. 2, n. 3, and the writing in the personal name *Mr-Mn-nfr* in Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen*, I, 156, No. 19.

Thus far we have assumed with others that the high priest who drew up this inscription was Amenhotep. Since the text mentions the mortuary temple of Ramesses VI, we can limit the possible high priests to Ramesseknachte, who still held his post to at least as late as Year 7 of Ramesses VI,²⁰ and to his two sons Esamon and Amenhotep. Esamon,

²⁰ Varille, *Karnak*, Vol. I ("FIFAO," Vol. XIX), Pl. LXVIII; cf. Hornung, *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie und Geschichte des Neuen Reiches* ("Agyp-

tologische Abhandlungen," Vol. XI), p. 98, n. 34, for the date.

suppression (line 21). Although the highest date so far known for Ramessesnakhte as high priest is Year 7 of Ramesses VI, it is quite possible that he continued in this office into the reign of Ramesses IX, in whose tenth year Amenhotep is first encountered as chief pontiff.²⁷ If both the burial of Ramessesnakhte and the suppression of Amenhotep did occur during the same reign, chronological considerations would make it impossible to place this interment and "the war of the high priest" before the reign of Ramesses IX.

However, as mentioned earlier, there has been a general consensus on the part of authorities that the suppression took place during the first half of the reign of Ramesses XI. Although I know of no detailed argument that has been set forth in print against placing this event prior to Ramesses XI,²⁸ the prosopographical evidence in Papyrus Mayer A tends to support the view that the pharaoh at that time was Ramesses XI.²⁹ Furthermore, the 3^{cc}-barbarians, who appear frequently in documents from Year 12 of Ramesses XI³⁰ and later³¹ and who had seized Medinet Habu during the suppression of Amenhotep, do not seem to have been of major importance in documents from the time of Ramesses IX or X.³² Lastly, if Panehsi is somehow to be connected with this event, it would be difficult to assign him and his military ventures to the reign of Ramesses IX.³³

Admitting that there is strong circumstantial evidence for placing "the war of the high priest" in the first half of Ramesses XI's reign, how can we reconcile this dating with the reference to the burial of the high priest's father "in Year x of Pharaoh . . ."? One possibility is that Amenhotep underwent two periods of suppression, first under Ramesses IX and then again under Ramesses XI; but, as mentioned above, the almost identical periods of time, "eight whole months" and "nine whole months" arouse one's suspicions and a miscalculation in the case of the latter is readily explainable. Professor Baer has suggested to me that Ramessesnakhte, because of senility or some other infirmity, may have relinquished his position as high priest during the reign of Ramesses IX and continued to live in retirement until his death and burial in the reign of Ramesses XI.

Another approach to this dilemma is to question the assumption that the pharaoh in line 6 was alive at the time the inscription was placed on the wall. Although there is a mass of evidence for the use of the expression "pharaoh" to indicate the reigning king during the Ramesside period, there appear to be a few cases where it was also applied to a

²⁷ We might hazard a guess that the five and a half years mentioned in line 16 corresponded to Amenhotep's first years from the time he became high priest until his being rewarded in Year 10 of Ramesses IX. Thus possibly his assumption of office occurred in Year 4 of Ramesses IX.

²⁸ Excluding those arguments advanced before the proper position of the Renaissance in relation to the reign of Ramesses XI had been correctly understood.

²⁹ For example, of the names of the accused in Papyrus Mayer A, a rapid search has revealed that only the fisherman Penakhtemope, named in Mayer A, 5, 9, appears in a tomb-robbery papyrus of the reign of Ramesses IX, Papyrus BM 10054, recto 3, 5 (Peet, *The Great Tomb-Robberies*, Vol. II, Pl. VI).

³⁰ In the Turin Taxation Papyrus, cf. Gardiner, *Ramesside Administrative Documents*, Index, p. 90.

³¹ For references of Černý, "Egypt from the Death of Ramesses III," p. 31, n. 2, to which add BM 10052, 1, 11; 2, 9; 3, 2; 6, 2; 7, 13; 8, 15; 8, 25;

9, 1; 10, 18; 11, 4; 15, 21; BM 10403, 1, 27-30; 3, 17 (published in Peet, *The Great Tomb-Robberies*, Vol. II).

³² No 3^{cc}-barbarians appear in the papyri published in Botti and Peet, *Il Giornale della necropoli di Tebe*; and from the tomb-robbery papyri prior to the reign of Ramesses XI the only example of a barbarian is BM 10068, recto 6, 16 (Peet, *The Great Tomb-Robberies*, Vol. II, Pl. XII).

³³ Professor Baer has pointed out to me that if the suppression of Amenhotep took place as far back as the reign of Ramesses IX, it would mean that Amenkhou, the father of the porter Ahautinufe, whose testimony was quoted at the beginning of this paper, married a second time in his sixties, this second marriage being the subject of Papyrus Turin 2021 (Černý and Peet, *JEA*, XIII, 30-39), which Baer dates to rather later in the Renaissance period than I myself have previously believed. However, a marriage this late in a man's life may have been as common in ancient Egypt as it has been until recently in Islamic Egypt, so Professor Abbott has informed me.

deceased king.³⁴ Somewhat over a century and a half later than our text there is in the Dakhleh stele a clear example of "pharaoh" preceding the name of a deceased king, "The register of Pharaoh Psusennes, l.p.h., the great god, in year 19."³⁵ I would suggest then that at the beginning of column 7 the name of Ramesses IX may have appeared, followed by the epithet "the great god," so that lines 6-7 may have read, "In Year x of Pharaoh [Ramesses IX, l.p.h., the great god.]" From the period intervening between our text and the Dakhleh stele there is a paucity of formal inscriptions drawn up on stone by private persons in which reference is made to a deceased king, so that we have very little comparative material to aid us in determining what expressions may or may not have been used in referring to a deceased pharaoh in an inscription such as ours. The remarks that follow rest upon the assumption that Amenhotep was suppressed only once, during the first half of the reign of Ramesses XI.

In spite of Gardiner's reservation³⁶ with regard to Panehsi's participation in "the war of the high priest," it seems difficult to disassociate the barbarians' seizure of Medinet Habu in the sixth month of Amenhotep's suppression³⁷ from the statement made by a *wab*-priest and guardian of the House of Pharaoh Peison that he left the House of Pharaoh when Panehsi suppressed his superior.³⁸ This statement occurs in a papyrus that is concerned with thefts from Medinet Habu, and, on the second page, particularly with copper stripped from various doors of the temple and the House of Pharaoh, which must have been situated within the Medinet Habu complex and was probably the royal palace attached to the mortuary temple of Ramesses III. Instead of taking Peison's superior as the High Priest of Amon,³⁹ I would see the superior referred to as one of the higher officials or clergy functioning at Medinet Habu. The seizure of Medinet Habu was carried out through barbarians, who appear to have been organized at least to the point that they had *hryw-pdt*, "troop-captains,"⁴⁰ and since the term used to identify them is *3w*, not *h3styw*, "desert-dwellers," which is applied earlier to the bands of marauding Libyans who had been a disturbing factor in the Theban necropolis,⁴¹ it seems most probable that these barbarians were indeed the Nubian troops commanded by the Viceroy of Kush Panehsi.

While I agree with the majority view that the Viceroy of Kush Panehsi was involved in events connected with the suppression of the High Priest Amenhotep and believe that his actions were probably sanctioned by the king, the information supplied by our inscription does not support a reconstruction of events according to which Panehsi was ordered by Ramesses XI to use his Nubian troops in order to suppress Amenhotep, whose priestly power is believed to have become a threat to the king's position. Although in our text Amon is given the credit for suppressing Amenhotep's enemy, the fact that Amenhotep mentions his appeal to pharaoh, his lord, in line 21, suggests that the temporal power that actually effected his restoration was the king or an agent of his. Furthermore, if Panehsi were the villain who was himself quickly and effectively suppressed in retaliation

³⁴ E.g., Papyrus Salt 124, recto 1, 11 and 12 (Černý, *JEA*, Vol. XV, Pl. XLII) and probably recto 2, 8 (*ibid.*, Pl. XLIV), where *p3 b3k n Pr-3*, "the construction of Pharaoh," would seem to refer to the royal tomb of Seti I, mentioned earlier in recto 2, 5 (*ibid.*, Pl. XLIII) as *p3 b3k n Sty-mr-n-Pth*, "the construction of Seti-menepthah."

³⁵ Gardiner, *JEA*, Vol. XIX (1933), Pl. VI, line 11 of the stela.

³⁶ *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, p. 301.

³⁷ Papyrus Mayer A, 6, 4-7.

³⁸ Papyrus BM 10383, 2, 5 (Peet, *The Great Tomb-Robberies*, Vol. II, Pl. XXII).

³⁹ So Černý, "Egypt from the Death of Ramesses III," p. 28.

⁴⁰ Papyrus Mayer A, 2, 20.

⁴¹ Cf. Černý, "Egypt from the Death of Ramesses III," pp. 13-16.

tion according to our text, how are we to explain Panehsi's supervisory role in the collection of taxes in Year 12 of Ramesses XI⁴² or the royal dispatch to Panehsi in Year 17?⁴³

With regard to the role of the Viceroy of Kush I think that Von Beckerath⁴⁴ was correct in seeing Panehsi as the king's agent who restored Amenhotep to his office after the period of suppression. Conditions at Thebes at this time must have been so anarchical as to demand armed intervention by the Viceroy's Nubian forces. An indication of the serious nature of the troubles at Thebes and the strength of the opposition to Panehsi is the fact that it was not until a couple of months after Panehsi's seizure of Medinet Habu that the restoration of the high priest could be effected and order restored.⁴⁵

It is true that certain documents reflect antipathy towards Panehsi.⁴⁶ However, they all date from the Renaissance period, during which Herihor was both High Priest of Amon and Viceroy of Kush, a title which he had usurped from Panehsi. Any connection between the family of Amenhotep and Herihor is very tenuous, and Herihor's probable rise from the military ranks⁴⁷ seems to have resulted in a situation in which he was at odds with Panehsi and Ramesses XI, whom he eventually supplanted in the Khonsu temple by styling himself king. With Herihor installed at Thebes, Panehsi was forced to retreat to Nubia, where he was holding out as late as Year 10 of the Renaissance, for in that year the General and High Priest Paiankh, Herihor's son, went up to Nubia to engage with Panehsi.⁴⁸ At about the same time the pharaoh, undoubtedly Ramesses XI, is slightly referred to in a letter written by Paiankh, "As for Pharaoh, how shall he reach this land? And of whom is Pharaoh superior still?"⁴⁹ The opposition of Herihor and his son Paiankh to Panehsi and Ramesses XI may provide an explanation for the Viceroy's defamation in Renaissance texts.

In connection with Panehsi's activities during the reign of Ramesses XI, there is a tenuous clue in Papyrus BM 10053, verso,⁵⁰ which appears to consist of evidence presented at a trial conducted by the High Priest of Amon in a Year 9. Although Peet⁵¹ stated that the verso could be no earlier than Year 9 of the Renaissance, in the light of our present understanding of the correct chronological position of the Renaissance era (Year 1 of the Renaissance = Year 19 of Ramesses XI), we can safely assign this verso text to Year 9 of Ramesses XI.⁵² In this document we are informed of depredations

⁴² Turin Taxation Papyrus, recto 1, 4-5 (Gardiner, *Ramesseide Administrative Documents*, p. 36, lines 4-5).

⁴³ Pleyte and Rossi, *Papyrus de Turin*, Pls. 66-67.
⁴⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 93.

⁴⁵ This is not to imply that Panehsi's Nubian troops were themselves innocent of illicit depredations upon the monuments. The looting propensity of invading troops, often beyond the control of their commander, is an age-old phenomenon and can be held in check only through the strictest discipline even today.

⁴⁶ Cf. Černý, "Egypt from the Death of Ramesses III," p. 31, n. 4.

⁴⁷ Cf. Kees, *Herihor und die Aufrichtung des thebanischen Gottesstaates*, "Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen," phil.-hist. Kl., Neue Folge, Fachgruppe I, 2. Band (1936-1938), pp. 1-20, and Černý, "Egypt from the Death of Ramesses III," p. 32.

⁴⁸ Papyrus Turin 1972, recto 8-9 (Černý, *Late Ramesseide Letters*, p. 7, line 16). The dating of this letter to year 10 is through its close relationship with

Papyrus BM 10326, recto 6 (*ibid.*, p. 17, line 11), where a year 10 is given. The reasons for assigning this year 10 to the Renaissance are given in my forthcoming study of Černý's *Late Ramesseide Letters*.

⁴⁹ Papyrus Berlin 10487, recto 8-verso 1 (Černý, *Late Ramesseide Letters*, p. 36, lines 11-12), cf. Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, p. 314.

⁵⁰ Peet, *The Great Tomb-Robberies*, Vol. II, Pls. XIX-XXI.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, I, 115.

⁵² Peet, *ibid.*, p. 116, has correctly introduced the prosopographical evidence of Papyrus BM 10068, verso 2-8, dated to a Year 12, in an effort to establish the date of BM 10053, verso. Peet's contention, *ibid.*, p. 86, that BM 10068, verso 2-8, is to be assigned to Year 12 of the Renaissance or later cannot be correct. The Year 12 is certainly that of Ramesses XI. That BM 10053, verso, should predate BM 10068, verso 2-8, by several years is indicated by the rise of Amenkhau, the son of Bakenptah, from the status of *wab-priest* in BM 10053, verso 1, 11, to the rank of god's father in BM 10068, verso 5, 28. He and certain others survived the charges made in Year 9.

made upon the Ramesseum and Medinet Habu by the scribe of the Ramesseum and *wab*-priests of Medinet Habu. The palanquin of King Thutmose I had been removed and stripped of its gold at mid-day! The priests and officials directly responsible for the maintenance and protection of these two important temples were clearly impotent to control the ravaging of sacred shrines and probably for the most part sanctioned what was taking place. In opposition to such pillaging stood the High Priest of Amon.

Unfortunately the opening lines of this verso text are lost or fragmentary, but in line two there appears the name Panehsi. The occurrence of this name at the beginning of the document suggests that its bearer was a man of some importance in connection with the investigation, and Panehsi, the Viceroy of Kush, seems a likely possibility. Here we can only theorize that he and his forces took action against the thieving priests, who subsequently were brought to trial. Whether this assumed activity on the part of Panehsi was closely connected with the seizure of Medinet Habu is not ascertainable, but if it was, a date somewhat before Year 9 of Ramesses XI might be suggested for the suppression of Amenhotep.

Many historians still maintain the view that in the course of the Twentieth Dynasty the growing power of the family of Ramessesnakhte constituted a threat to the king's position, and they adduce as their major piece of evidence the Karnak scenes of the rewarding of Amenhotep in the presence of Ramesses IX, which appear to renounce the traditional canon of hierarchic proportionment in the case of the king and high priest. In 1929 Piotrovskij⁵³ attempted to remove this prop by explaining that Ramesses IX appears the same size as Amenhotep because the depiction is that of a royal statue and not the king himself. However, I am unable to share Federn's⁵⁴ confidence that Piotrovskij entirely proved his case that, because the figure of Ramesses IX is shown standing on a pedestal, it must be his statue facing the high priest. Since there are examples of the living king shown standing on a pedestal,⁵⁵ we must reckon with the possibility that in the Karnak scenes both the pharaoh and high priest are to be understood as living individuals.

In order to assess the value of these Karnak scenes as evidence for the exalted status of the high priest and the diminution of the king's divinity, some consideration of their location within the Karnak complex is required. As mentioned above, n. 14, the eastern doorway and windows of Thutmose III's peripteral shrine were closed with blocks of stone, now removed, upon which the remainder of the scene and text of our inscription were carved. One explanation for this blocking is that, when Amenhotep renovated the high priest's dwelling, located on the west side of the sacred lake,⁵⁶ he enlarged it to the north and actually utilized this wall as part of his house. In fact, Maspero⁵⁷ and Lefebvre,⁵⁸ citing Maspero, suggested that the wall of this shrine as well as the adjoining wall, on which Amenhotep's famous reliefs are carved, formed part of the high priest's dwelling along with mud-brick structures now lost. Had these scenes been carved on

⁵³ "Das Karnak-Relief des Hohenpriesters Amenhotpe," *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Sciences de l'URSS*, 1929, pp. 115-19.

⁵⁴ *Chronique d'Égypte*, XXXIV (1959), 214; this reference I owe to Professor Simpson.

⁵⁵ E.g., The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu*, Vol. I, Pls. 29, 42; Vol. II, Pls. 75, 96. Although in his discussion Piotrovskij does not include representations of the king kneeling on a pedestal, I doubt

that they are entirely irrelevant to the problem. In such scenes as *ibid.*, Vol. VII, Pls. 571-86, where the king kneels on a pedestal while offering to a god, I do not believe that a royal statue is intended.

⁵⁶ Cf. Nims, *Thebes of the Pharaohs*, p. 102; Lefebvre, *Histoire*, pp. 187-88.

⁵⁷ *Op. cit.*, pp. 670-71.

⁵⁸ Lefebvre, *Histoire*, p. 150.

some other more prominent wall of the Karnak temple,⁵⁹ there might be some basis for considering Amenhotep presumptuous in his relation to Ramesses IX, but with their incorporation in the fabric of the high priest's mansion, they do not protest too much.⁶⁰

What evidence there is in our inscription does not support the notion that Amenhotep had regarded himself as being on an equal footing with the king. In line 5 the high priest states, "Again His Majesty heard my plea," and the normal interpretation would be that the suppliant high priest was in an inferior relationship to the king, who according to my understanding of this part of the text was Ramesses IX. Later on in the inscription the record of the high priest's appeal to pharaoh, his lord (Ramesses XI according to my interpretation), would be difficult to explain if the latter did not command proper deference on the part of his inferior. If Ramesses XI had been involved in curtailing the ambitions of the high priest, why should Amenhotep have taken the trouble to record the fact that he made an appeal to the king or refer to pharaoh as his lord?

Until additional evidence is forthcoming, discussions regarding the suppression of Amenhotep will remain to a large extent speculative. What I do believe is that this event had little to do with any supposed rivalry between the high priest and pharaoh, which I would suggest has been unduly emphasized by many on the basis of the tenuous evidence of the famous rewarding scenes of Amenhotep at Karnak. However wealthy and influential the Ramessesnakhte family may have become in the course of the Twentieth Dynasty, this does not necessarily lead to the conclusion that Pharaoh's dominant position was threatened in a conflict between church and state. On the other hand, Herihor's ultimate assumption of kingship, as revealed in the Khonsu temple and in an inscription in the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak,⁶¹ marks a clear break with established tradition and reflects the existence of a power struggle, which may have arisen not because Herihor was high priest but because of his ambitions as a military leader.

⁵⁹ In the doorway leading from the court north of the eighth pylon to the area west of the sacred lake there is a scene in which Amenhotep offers the bouquet of Montu to Ramesses IX with both priest and king depicted on the same scale, cf. *L.D.*, III, 237, e, and Lefebvre, *Inscriptions*, pp. 47-51. The proximity of this scene to the high priest's dwelling should also be emphasized here.

⁶⁰ Seele, *The Tomb of Tjanefer at Thebes* ("OIP," Vol. LXXXVI), p. 7, n. 58, refers to a fragment from the tomb, Pl. 29, C, in which the king and Tjanefer must have been depicted at about the same scale; and in two scenes in the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak, cf. Seele, *The Coregency of Ramses II with Seti I and the Date of the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak* ("SAOC," No. 19), p. 24, fig. 8, and p. 69, fig. 22, the king acting as high priest (Seti I in one case, Ramesses II in the other) is approximately the same size as the other priests bearing the bark of Amon. To what extent deducing relative rank

merely on the basis of proportion in Egyptian art may be misleading can be illustrated in the case of two triumphal scenes of Seti I on the north wall of the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak, cf. Wreszinski, *Atlas zur altägyptischen Kulturgeschichte*, Part II, Pl. 53a, where the pharaoh is represented on a considerably larger scale than Amon-Re, who hands him the scimitar. I doubt whether any Egyptologist would deduce from this that the king was superior to his father Amon-Re, who according to the accompanying inscriptions had provided his son with the wherewithal to subdue Egypt's enemies. Since proportionment of figures in Egyptian art may be conditioned by factors other than the relative status of individuals and gods in the minds of men responsible for designing a scene, it would seem that more caution is required in deducing Amenhotep's audacity from scenes in which he appears equal to the king in size.

⁶¹ Cf. Barguet, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

THE PRESENT STATUS OF MANDAEAN STUDIES

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THE following quotations from Braun, Albright, and Gordon indicate the significance of Mandaean studies for the study of Gnosticism and of early Christianity in our day:

On se souvient de la fameuse "fièvre mandéene" qui sévit après la première guerre mondiale. Aux yeux de savants aussi qualifiés que l'étaient R. Reitzenstein, R. Bultmann, W. Bauer, le mandéisme paraissait fournir la clef des origines chrétiennes et singulièrement du quatrième Évangile. Aujourd'hui, le mandéisme est en pleine crise, bien que, suivant la remarque de H. C. Puech, il demeure un "problème ouvert."¹

While nothing in Mandaean literature can be directly employed to demonstrate the existence of a given conception in the first century A.D. or earlier, Mandaean names, ideas, and practices which can be proved to go back to pre-Christian paganism often possess exceptional value for the historian of Christian and Gnostic beginnings.²

The day is not far off when Mandaean studies will again be in the limelight because of their bearing on early Christianity.³

Some thirty-five years ago Mandaean studies were in vogue and occupied the attention of New Testament scholars, much as the Dead Sea Scrolls are doing so today. In 1927, for example, there were twenty-three articles or books published on the subject, in 1928 twenty-nine titles, in 1929 twenty-one titles, and in 1930 twenty-five titles. Then Mandaean studies suffered a decline in the 1930's and 1940's. In the 1950's and 1960's there have been signs of renewed interest, mainly in Europe. With the exception of Burkitt, Kraeling, and Gordon, Americans have done little for Mandaean scholarship.

In the earlier period of interest, exaggerated claims for the bearing of the Mandaeans on the New Testament and on Christianity were made. Today together with the Coptic Gnostic codices from Chenoboskion the Mandaean texts can give us an insight into the evolution of Gnosticism. They are of considerably less value for the interpretation of the New Testament itself.

The Mandaeans are a remarkable remnant of a religious community that now lives in southern Iraq and Iran near the Tigris and the Euphrates Rivers. When their existence first became known to Europe in the sixteenth century, the Mandaean community numbered about 15,000. In 1875 there were about 4,000. Today there are still a few thousand left, not only in lower Iraq and Iran but also in cities in other areas of these countries. However, with the advent of modern education, the young people are being weaned from their ancient way of life. The priesthood, which carries little prestige for these young men, is in danger of extinction. The older Mandaean men are noted as silversmiths.

¹ F. M. Braun, "Le Mandéisme et la secte essénienne de Qumran," *L'Ancien Testament et l'Orient* (Louvain: Publications Universitaires, 1957), p. 193.

² W. F. Albright, *From the Stone Age to Christianity* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1957), pp. 366-67.

³ C. H. Gordon in a review of E. S. Drower, *The Haran Gawaita and the Baptism of Hibil Ziwa*, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1956), p. 102.

What is most remarkable about the group is their religion, which is syncretistic, gnostic, and baptistic. Their religious and magical texts are written in their sacred language—Mandaic—an eastern Aramaic dialect akin to the Aramaic dialect used in the Babylonian Talmud. Their religious texts, written on manuscripts dating from medieval times, were probably composed in the early Islamic period and no doubt contain material from an even earlier, possibly pre-Christian era. The oldest known Mandaic text is a lead amulet from A.D. 400. Aside from this the earliest Mandaic texts are magic bowls from the Sasanian era, about A.D. 600.

The Mandaeans were known to Arabic writers as *aṣ-Ṣābiya*, Sabaeans, from the root *ṣbʿ*, "to baptize, to immerse." They are mentioned in the Qur'an in Surahs 2, 5, and 22; in Surah 22:17 we read: "Lo! those who believe (this Revelation), and those who are Jews, and the Sabaeans and the Christians and the Magians and the idolaters—Lo! Allah will decide between them on the Day of Resurrection." Together with the Jews and the Christians, the Sabaeans were accorded a privileged status as "people of the Book" by the Muslims.

The first reference to the Mandaeans in European literature is found in a work dated 1560. In 1652 Ignatius a Jesu, a Catholic missionary, brought back the first Mandaean manuscript to Europe. He called the Mandaeans "Christiani S. Joannis Baptistae" under the mistaken notion that they were similar to the disciples of John the Baptist at Ephesus mentioned in Acts, chapter 19, because they venerated John.

In actuality, the Mandaeans are not simply heretical Christians, but are anti-Christian. They regard Jesus as a false prophet, *mesiha daggala*, who is also *Nbu*, i.e. Nebo-Hermes or the planet Mercury. They consider the Holy Spirit, *Ruḥa d Qudša*, as the mother of Jesus and an evil female demon, identified with Dlibat or the planet Venus.

Travelers brought back to Europe reports of the Mandaeans in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. There were fifty-two references to the Mandaeans in the seventeenth century, and seventy-four references in the eighteenth century.⁴ The erroneous identification by Ignatius was perpetuated by Norberg, who gave a great impetus to Mandaean studies by transliterating the important text, the *Ginza*, into Syriac in 1816. In 1867 Petermann's *Ginza* in the original script superseded Norberg's edition. That same year Euting published another text, the *Qolasta*.

In 1867 Nöldeke had identified Mandaic as an eastern Aramaic dialect.⁵ Then in 1875 he produced his definitive *Mandäische Grammatik*. This fundamental work was reprinted in 1964 by the Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft in Darmstadt, Germany. In 1889 Brandt wrote the important study, *Die mandäische Religion*. It was Lidzbarski who put Mandaean studies on a much firmer footing by producing critical editions of the major texts together with translations: *Das Johannesbuch* in 1905, *Ginza* in 1925, and *Mandäische Liturgien* in 1925. The latter was reprinted in 1962 by the Weidmannsche Verlagsbuchhandlung in Berlin.

In 1919 Reitzenstein, the famous proponent of the Religionsgeschichte School, created a stir by explaining the Gospel of John in terms of Mandaean parallels. He was seconded in this by Rudolf Bultmann in a notable article, "Die Bedeutung der neuerschlossenen mandäischen und manichäischen Quellen für das Verständnis des Johannes-

⁴ S. A. Pallis, *Essay on Mandaean Bibliography, 1560-1930* (London: Oxford University Press, 1933).

⁵ Theodor Nöldeke, *Ueber die Mundart der Mandäer* (Göttingen: Dieterichschen Buchhandlung, 1862).

evangeliums," *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, XXIV (1925), 100-146. This view found so much favor that Pallis writing in 1933 could say, "New Testament research, particularly as regards the Johannean writings, has been carried on entirely under the banner of Mandaeen religion."⁶ Writers on the Gospel of John or on the origins of Christianity, such as Gressmann, Loisy, Bauer, Lohmeyer, Jeremias, Goguel, and Taylor took up these views. There were those such as Lietzmann, Burkitt, and Lagrange who reacted against such theories. Then the publication of the Manichaean fragments in the 1930's reduced the enthusiasm for the primacy of Mandaeenism over Manichaeism.

It was in the 1930's that Lady Ethel Stefana Drower, the outstanding authority on the Mandaeans today, began her work. She has the unique merit of having befriended the Mandaeans and of having lived with them. She is the only outsider whom they have honored with a "Soul-Book." From her first-hand observations she wrote the classic *The Mandaeans of Iraq and Iran*, published in 1937, and reprinted in 1962 by E. J. Brill, in Leiden, The Netherlands. By her assiduous efforts, she has been able to purchase all the major Mandaean manuscripts except two. She wrote in 1953:

I think that I reached what is vulgarly known as "the bottom of the bag" except for two scrolls, both ritual, preserved as an heirloom by an aged man in South Persia. He is of priestly birth and refuses either to sell or to allow them to be photographed.⁷

She has donated these manuscripts as the Drower Collection to the Bodleian Library at Oxford. Lady Drower has published numerous texts, among which are the following, listed in chronological order: *Diwan Abatur, or Progress Through the Purgatories* (Rome: Biblioteca Apostolica, 1950); *Šarḥ d Qabīn d Šišlam Rba* (Rome: Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1950); *Haran Gawaita and Mašbuta d-Hibil-Ziwa* (Rome: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1953); *The Canonical Prayerbook of the Mandaeans* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1959); *Alf Trisar Šuialia: A Thousand and Twelve Questions* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1960); *The Coronation of the Great Šišlam* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1962); *A Pair of Naṣoraeen Commentaries* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1963). In addition to *The Book of the Zodiac* (London: Oriental Translation Fund of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1949), she has published a number of other magical texts as articles in various journals. In *Water into Wine* (London: John Murray, 1956) she compares the Mandaean ritual meal with that of the Parsees and of the various branches of eastern Christianity. In *The Secret Adam* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960) she sets forth a study of Mandaean "gnosis." Her most recent major work was *A Mandaic Dictionary* in collaboration with R. Macuch, published in 1963 by the Oxford University Press. All this and more from a woman who celebrated her eightieth birthday some years ago!

During the 1940's there was a dearth of studies on the Mandaeans, since much of the interest had been and still is centered in Germany. For example, of one hundred and forty-two titles since 1930 listed by Rudolph (see below), sixty-six are in German, twenty-four are in English—largely the works of Lady Drower—fifteen in French, nine in Italian, and eighteen by Scandinavian scholars, many of whom have written in English. There is a conspicuous lack of any recent American articles, with the exception of those by Cyrus Gordon.

⁶ Pallis, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

⁷ E. S. Drower, "Mandaean Bibliography," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1953), p. 34.

Scandinavian scholars have shown a lively interest in Mandaean studies after the Second World War. We have the studies of Waldemar Sundberg of Lund, Sweden, and of Eric Segelberg, Torgny Sävje-Söderbergh, and Geo Widengren from Uppsala, Sweden. The latter has been working on a series called *The King and Saviour: Studies in Manichaeism, Mandaean and Syriac-Gnostic Religion*, seeking to establish common motifs in the ancient Near East. Sävje-Söderbergh's work, *Studies in the Coptic Manichaean Psalmsbook* (Cambridge: W. Heffer and Sons, 1949), has now shown that Manichaeism borrowed from Mandaeanism, and that the latter must therefore have existed prior to the former, i.e. at least in the third century A.D.

The Italian studies, published in the fifties, have come from the pen of Giuseppe Furlani and deal with specific themes, for example, "I Pianeti e lo Zodiaco nella religione dei Mandei," *Memorie dell' Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei*, II (1950), 119-87, and "I significati di mandea raza-misterio, segreto," in the same journal, VII (1956-1957), 447-510.

Of the numerous German studies, the most comprehensive has been that by Kurt Rudolph, *Die Mandäer* (2 vols.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1960-1961). He expanded his doctoral dissertation of about 200 pages, presented at Leipzig in 1956, to two volumes of about 800 pages. The first volume deals with the problems of chronology and origin, and the second volume with rites and practices.

As to the question of the ultimate origin of the Mandaeans, the consensus of opinion today favors the theory of a western or Palestinian origin. A number of scholars such as Brandt, Anz, Kessler, and Zimmern had championed an eastern or Babylonian home for the Mandaeans. The biblical elements were attributed by Loisy and Burkitt to late contacts with Syrian Christianity. They were opposed by Lidzbarski, Wellhausen, Bousset, and Thomas, who preferred a western origin. The latter linked the Mandaeans with the Elchasaïtes, a baptistic sect that flourished in the second century A.D. in Palestine.⁸

In 1953 Lady Drower published the *Haran Gawaita*, which comments on the emigration of the Mandaeans from Palestine to Mesopotamia as follows:

... and Haran Gawaita receiveth him and that city in which there were Naṣoraeans, because there was no road for the Jewish rulers. Over them was King Ardban. And sixty thousand Naṣoraeans abandoned the Sign of the Seven and entered the Median hills, a place where we were free from domination by all other races. . . . And they loved the Lord, that is, Adonai, until in the House of Israel there was created something which was not placed in the womb of Mary, a daughter of Moses. It was hidden in her womb for nine months and bewitched her until the nine months were fulfilled and she was in labour and brought forth a messiah. . . . And he took to himself a people and was called by the name of the False Messiah. And he perverted them all and made them like himself who perverted words of life and changed them into darkness and even perverted those accounted Mine. And he overturned all the rites. And he and his brother dwell on Mount Sinai, and he joineth all races to him, and perverteth and joineth to himself a people, and they are called Christians.⁹

Now there were five Parthian kings named Artabanus: I, 216-191 B.C.; II, ca. 128-24 B.C.; III, 12 B.C.-ca. A.D. 38; IV, A.D. 80-81; V, ca. A.D. 213-27. Macuch believes that it

⁸ Joseph Thomas, *Le mouvement baptiste en Palestine et Syrie* (Gembloux: J. Duculot, 1935).

⁹ E. S. Drower, *Haran Gawaita and Maṣbūta ḡ-Hibil-Ziwa* (Rome: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1953), pp. 3-4.

was in the last years of Artabanus III after the death of Jesus, that the Mandaeans emigrated from Judea.¹⁰ He notes that this had been anticipated by N. C. Debevoise in 1938 in his *A Political History of Parthia*, when he wrote, "Perhaps it was Artabanus III who brought the Mandaeans to the country of the Two Rivers" (p. 157). As a further confirmation of this date he cites the Elymean inscriptions from Tang-i-Sarvak between Fars and Khuzestan in Persia, deciphered and published by Henning in *Asia Minor*, II (1952), 151-78. These show resemblances to the Mandaic letters and probably come from the second century A.D. Lidzbarski had earlier interpreted coins from Characene in south Babylonia as an indication that the Mandaeans were there by A.D. 150.

Segelberg draws a similar conclusion as to the western origin of the Mandaeans from his study of the Mandaean ritual of baptism. He says, "When it has been possible to compare the structure of a Gnostic rite with that of the Mandaean one, the Gnostic tradition has appeared as closely connected with the 'Western' Christian type."¹¹ According to Segelberg the original Mandaean rite probably did not have either unction or meal. The present rite did not develop earlier than the early Arabic times. On the other hand, the rite of immersion probably harks back to baptistic traditions current in the Jordan River Valley in the first century B.C.—traditions that reflected both Jewish and pagan elements. The rite of baptism may have been unchanged until after A.D. 400. In the east unction and the meal were added under the influence of various Gnostic, Christian, and Parsee traditions.¹²

Rudolph's conclusions are again similar. According to him, the present form of Mandaicism is a result of the long settlement of the Mandaeans in Mesopotamia after emigration from the west. It consists of a mixture of: (a) Iranian materials in the cult, (b) late Babylonian elements in magic and astrology, and (c) some Syrian Christian elements.¹³ But an earlier layer, especially in the hymns, has affinities with the early Syrian Gnosticism and may extend back to a pre-Christian era. The Mandaeans must have left Palestine by the second century A.D. for they are already in the east by the third century, and form one of the roots of Manichaeism.

More recently Braun has attempted to trace the Mandaeans to the Essenes from Qumran.¹⁴ He notes the following similarities: the substitution of immersions and lustrations for bloody sacrifices; the doctrine of the soul imprisoned in the body; the use of white vestments; the confession of sins by the initiates who receive baptism "presque dans les mêmes termes"; the conflict between good and bad angels and the relation of men to this conflict; the conjunction of fire and darkness as a punishment for the wicked. According to his hypothesis the Essenes were separated from the Temple, and were therefore exposed to outside influences, such as Alexandrian mysticism. This would have been even more true after they had left Palestine. Their latent dualism and doctrine of the soul inclined them to look favorably upon gnostic ideas. The transformations by which the Mandaeans seemed to have passed through their stages of history seem to have involved a progressive substitution of gnostic dualism for Jewish monotheism.

I would have a number of reservations about Braun's analysis. In the first place,

¹⁰ R. Macuch, "Alter und Heimat des Mandäismus nach neuerschlossenen Quellen," *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, LXXXII (1957), 401-408.

¹¹ Eric Segelberg, *Maṣbūtā; Studies in the Ritual of the Mandaean Baptism* (Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksells Boktryckeri, 1958), pp. 182 ff.

¹² Cf. E. S. Drower, *Water into Wine* (London: John Murray, 1956).

¹³ Kurt Rudolph, *Die Mandäer* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1960), I, 252 ff.

¹⁴ Braun, *op. cit.*

although differences are mentioned they are probably to be taken more seriously than they are.¹⁵ It is to be doubted that the Qumran community "substituted" immersion for bloody sacrifices. They probably did not object to sacrifice as such but to the wickedness of those in Jerusalem who were then in charge of the sacrifices.¹⁶ Then, too, immersion has quite a different significance for the two groups. For the Mandaean baptism is a necessary rite to prepare his soul for the heavenly journey after death. Moreover, the Mandaean regards water not just as the symbol of life, but in a magical sense as life itself. This was not true of the Sectarian from Qumran.¹⁷ The Mandaean had to be baptized in running water, whereas the latter was immersed in one of the many stepped cisterns found at Khirbet Qumran.¹⁸ In addition to the two armies of good and bad angels, the Mandaeans have a number of subsidiary divinities, which are unknown in the monotheistic Qumran community.¹⁹

It is true that the Essene rejection of marriage²⁰ was probably based more on the pragmatic needs of a contemplative life as in the case of Epictetus, the Stoic philosopher, than it was on a philosophic opposition to sex as in the case of Saturninus (A.D. 117-38), the Gnostic, who taught that Christ had come from heaven to "destroy the works of the female." Their celibacy nonetheless forms a distinct contrast to the Mandaean emphasis upon marriage. The Mandaeans say: "If a man has no wife, there will be no Paradise for him hereafter and no Paradise on earth." "If woman had not been created there would be no sun and no moon, no cultivation and no fire."²¹

An anthropological reservation about the western origin of the Mandaeans should be noted. Henry Field concluded from the results of a survey that "a definite number of the Subba (the Mandaeans) can be classified as members of the Iranian Plateau race."²² This is significant in the light of the high degree of inbreeding in such a zealous religious community. He adds, however, that they are not all members of one stock.

The magical texts, which are the earliest Mandaic texts we have, deserve separate consideration. The magic bowls are of the same type as the bowl texts written in Aramaic and in Syriac, which come from the same general area—Mesopotamia and Iran—from about A.D. 600. The Aramaic bowl texts together with similar Syriac and Mandaic texts published up to 1913 have been discussed by James Montgomery in his definitive

¹⁵ Cf. S. Zedda, "Il carattere Gnostico e Giudaico dell' errore colossale nella luce dei manoscritti del Mar Morto," *Rivista Biblica*, V (1957), 31-56, who attempts to derive the Colossian heresy of the New Testament from the Dead Sea community. In an article "Qumran and Colosse," *Bibliotheca Sacra*, CXXI (1964), 141-52, the writer has tried to evaluate not only the similarities but also the differences of the two groups.

¹⁶ There have been found at Qumran "meticulous burials of animal bones which may possibly indicate an independent sacrifice," according to Frank Moore Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1961), p. 102.

¹⁷ The Sectarians did not believe that the water itself had an inherent power to cleanse. In the Manual of Discipline 3:4-5, we read of the hypocrite, "He shall not be absolved by atonement, nor purified by lustral waters, nor sanctified by seas and rivers, nor cleansed by all the waters of washing." A. Dupont-Sommer, *The Essene Writings from Qumran* (Cleveland: The World Pub. Co., 1962), pp. 76-77.

¹⁸ On Mandaean baptism see E. S. Drower, *The Mandaeans of Iraq and Iran* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1962), chap. 7.

¹⁹ It is not correct to speak of the prominence of angels in the Mandaean religion. They are prominent only in the magical texts.

²⁰ Philo wrote of the Essenes: "Indeed, no Essaeian takes a woman because women are selfish, excessively jealous, skilful in ensnaring the morals of a spouse and in seducing him by endless charms. . . . The husband, bound by his wife's spells, or anxious for his children from natural necessity, is no more the same towards the others, but unknown to himself he becomes a different man, a slave instead of a free-man." Cited by Dupont-Sommer, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-26. Cross suggests that their celibacy was motivated by eschatological considerations. (Cf. I Cor., chap. 7.)

²¹ Drower, *The Mandaeans of Iraq*, p. 59.

²² Henry Field, *The Anthropology of Iraq* (Chicago: Field Museum of Natural History, 1949), Part 1, No. 2, p. 310.

Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur (Philadelphia: University Museum, 1913). Franz Rosenthal in *Die aramäistische Forschung seit Theo. Nöldeke's Veröffentlichungen* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1939) discusses the magic bowl texts published up to 1939. Since the 1930's the major scholar in the field of Aramaic and Mandaic magic bowl texts has been Cyrus Gordon.²³

The first Mandaic bowl inscription was published by Pognon, the French consul at Baghdad, in 1892.²⁴ The bowl came from Bismaya, south of Nippur in Iraq. Then in 1898-1899 Pognon published thirty-one more Mandaic texts in *Inscriptions mandaites des coupes de Khoubir* (Paris: H. Welter, 1898-1899). As an appendix in this work Pognon added the account of the Mandaeans by Theodore bar Koni (ca. A.D. 800) in Syriac—the earliest extended account we have of the Mandaeans. In addition to the thirty-two texts edited by Pognon, twenty other texts have been published by Lidzbarski, Montgomery, Driver, and Gordon, with the latter accounting for ten of the texts.²⁵

The earliest of the Mandaic texts is the lead amulet published by Lidzbarski in 1909.²⁶ The text had been inscribed on a narrow and thin lead sheet with a nail. The strip was rolled up and worn in a container. Lady Drower thinks that such lead strips were immersed in water, which would then be drunk.²⁷ The long text of 278 lines is exceedingly interesting. Because of orthographic considerations, Lidzbarski dated this text to A.D. 400. In addition to the amulet and the bowls, the Mandaeans have other types of magical charms, notably phylacteries. These, however, are of a later date.

The earliest magical texts reveal the amalgamation of contributions from many cultures. The *Mesopotamian* element is prominent. The dialogue formula in the lead amulet is without doubt based on the Marduk-Ea formula of Sumerian magic.²⁸ The list of cursers, which includes father and mother, brother and sister, etc., is based on Akkadian prototypes. The comprehensive list of baleful spirits is also structured after similar lists in Akkadian incantations, with many of the evil spirits descended directly from Babylonian prototypes. First and foremost are the "liliths" who are the lineal descendents of the *lilitu*, female night-spirits who mate with men at night and torment women and human progeny. The planetary deities, outlawed in the official Mandaean texts, are invoked in Mandaean magic.

In spite of their antipathy to the *Jews*, the Mandaeans are indebted to them for a number of elements in their magic. Adonai appears as the king of the demons. The many names of the angels, so prominent in these texts, are based on Jewish prototypes. As Lidzbarski pointed out, at a later age and in the official religion it is the Mandaean

²³ William Russell, a student of Gordon's, published *A Handbook of Aramaic Magical Texts* (Ringwood, N.J.: Shelton College, 1953). This work contains a grammar, fourteen of Montgomery's texts, sixteen of Gordon's texts, and a glossary that is drawn from other Aramaic texts as well.

²⁴ Henri Pognon, "Une incantation contre les génies malfaisants en mandaïte," *Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique*, VIII (1894), 193-234.

²⁵ For a comprehensive collection of the fifty-two Mandaic texts, translations, a grammar, and glossary see the writer's unpublished dissertation, "Mandaean Incantation Texts" (Ph.D. dissertation, Brandeis University, 1964).

²⁶ Mark Lidzbarski, "Ein mandäisches Amulett," *Florilegium ou recueil de travaux d'érudition dédiés à M. Melchior de Vogüé* (Paris: 1909), pp. 349-73.

²⁷ E. S. Drower, "A Mandaean Bibliography," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1953), p. 38.

²⁸ Of similar passages in other Mandaean texts Walter Baumgartner notes: "Auf den Diwanen, Zaubertexten in Streifenform, kommt es öfter vor, dass Hibil Ziwa seinen Vater um Rat fragt, was er tun solle, und dieser ihm dann Anweisung gibt, oder dass ein anderer Lichtgeist einen höheren um Auskunft bittet... das erinnert stark an das ähnlich verlaufende Zwiesgespräch zwischen Marduk und Ea in babylonischen Beschwörungstexten. "Zur Mandaerfrage," *Hebrew Union College Annual*, XXIII (1950-1951), 64. Cf. A. Falkenstein, *Die Haupttypen der sumerischen Beschwörung* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1931).

Uthras, beneficent semi-divinities, which are prominent and not the angels.²⁹ It is noteworthy that in contrast to the Aramaic bowl texts no Scriptures are quoted in the Mandaic texts, although the words "Amen" and "Selah" occur. The names of three important Uthras are based on the names of three biblical characters: Hibil after Abel, Anosh after Enosh, and Shitil after Seth. The legal terminology of the Jewish Get or divorce document has been adopted as one of the magical formulae.

Christian influence in the bowl texts seems to be negligible. Apart from the name of the parent of one of the clients, Sebre-le-Yešo, "His-Hope-Is-Jesus," neither Jesus nor John the Baptist appears in these texts. In later magical texts Jesus, who is ordinarily considered the False Messiah, is invoked for healing. Lady Drower points out that in the earlier Mandaean writings most of the polemic was directed against the Jews and not the Christians.³⁰ When the polemic is fully developed against Jesus, it is evident from the accusations that the charges were those made against the Nestorian Church and not against the early Christian Church. In a passage in *Das Johannesbuch 103*, cited by Lady Drower, Jesus comes to John to be baptized:

John (Yahia) answers: "Jesu-messiah in Jerusalem, thou hast lied to the Jews and hast deceived men and priests!" and accuses Jesus of ascetism, monasticism, celibacy, and breaking the Sabbath.³¹

It is striking that such figures as Abraxas, Hermes, Metatron, and other prominent figures of Egypto-Hellenistic Gnosticism appear in the Aramaic bowl texts but not in the Mandaic, since the Mandaean religion is itself Gnostic. On the other hand, Mandaean figures appear occasionally in the Aramaic and Syriac bowl texts.

With the decipherment of Linear A as Semitic by Cyrus Gordon a new Minoan element has been added to the Mandaean problem.³² Linear A is a script that was used on Crete from about 1850 B.C. to 1450 B.C. A magic bowl from Knossos is inscribed in Linear A, beginning spirally from the center as is the case in most of the Aramaic and Mandaic bowls. Like them it contains the picture of a lilith in the center. The word for lilith also appears on the opening line.³³ In a text on a libation tablet from Palaikastro in Crete we have the following inscription in Linear A: *re ya-sa-[sa-ra-mu . . .] ki-te-te-pi ki-re-ya-tu*, which means, "To Yašašlam, that the city may thrive."³⁴ Yašašlam appears on six of the eighteen inscribed cult objects in Linear A and is to be associated with the Mandaean Šišlam.

Another link with the Mediterranean may be the word Jordan, which plays a prominent role in Mandaean religion. Scholars have generally assumed that this is a reminiscence of the Jordan River in Palestine. In the cosmological accounts the Jordan is

²⁹ Mark Lidzbarski, "Uthra und Malakha," *Orientalische Studien, Theodor Nöldeke zum siebenzigsten Geburtstag gewidmet* (Giessen: A. Topelmann, 1906), I, 537-45.

³⁰ E. S. Drower, "Mandaean Polemic," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, XXV (1962), 441.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 442.

³² See the following articles by C. H. Gordon: "Minoica" and "Eteocretan," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, XXI (1962), 207-14; "Toward a Grammar of Minoan," *Orientalia N.S.* XXXII (1963), 292-97; "The Decipherment of Minoan," *Natural*

History, LXXII (1963), 22-31. Cf. also John F. Priest, "ἑρμια in the *Iliad* and Consideration of a Recent Theory," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, XXIII (1964), 48-56; Michael C. Astour, "Second Millennium B.C. Cypriot and Cretan Onomastica Reconsidered," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, LXXXIV (1964), 240-54.

³³ For the inscriptions see W. C. Brice, *Inscriptions in the Minoan Linear Script of Class A* (Oxford: The Society of Antiquaries, 1961). For a summary of Gordon's paper on the Knossos bowl see the *American Journal of Archaeology*, LXVIII (1964), 194-95.

³⁴ Brice, *op. cit.*, Pl. XVII.

represented as a river of white water, as "the living water," "the gleaming, and lustrous water." The Mandaeans themselves say that this word means "river" or "flowing water" and has no reference to the River Jordan in Palestine.³⁵ In this they may be more correct than it appears. Gordon has pointed out that the word "jordan" in the Hebrew Bible is not a proper noun, for it appears always with the definite article or some other qualifier, with but two exceptions. He notes that it may be related to the streams of Iardanus on Crete (Odyssey 3:291-92), and Iardanus in Elis on the Greek mainland (Iliad 7:135).³⁶

Where these converging lines will lead no one can predict. Nor can one be sure how the links were made. But it seems evident that there are accumulating factors that call for an open-minded investigation of the relationship of the Mandaeans with the Essenes from Qumran, the Gnostics from Chenoboskion, and the Minoans from Knossos.

³⁵ Drower, *The Mandaeans of Iraq*, p. xxiv.

³⁶ Cyrus H. Gordon, *Before the Bible* (London: Collins, 1962), pp. 284-85.

PROBLEMS OF DATING A UNIQUE EGYPTIAN BRONZE

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IN an article published in the *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*,¹ I described a sculpture of Anubis which in its size and shape proved to be unique among the extant bronze figures of the jackal-god and which, because of its peculiarities, I designated as "Anubis X." Evidence was also presented strongly supporting the view that the sculpture in question was not a specimen which by chance survived while other similar ones perished, but that such a sculpture was realized only once. Furthermore, it was inferred that this realization could hardly be a casual variant of artistic expression and that it was rather a deliberate, purposeful act on the part of the sculptor.

Naturally, the problem of dating this figure and of identifying the cultural setting in which it came into being imposed itself. A systematic investigation that extended over a period of nearly five years furnished a number of significant data which should prove helpful in solving the above problem. These data are presented in the following pages.

Generally speaking, three characteristics of the "Anubis X" sculpture may serve for purposes of dating—its general appearance, the chemical composition of the bronze alloy and the peculiarities in the shape of the figure. From an objective scientific viewpoint, not all these characteristics are of the same informative value, and not one of them *per se* can be regarded as an infallible criterion.

I

General appearance, in a broader sense, comprising the esthetic quality of an ancient art object and the particularities of style, design, and workmanship, constitutes, in competent hands, a very valuable if not entirely foolproof guide in dating it. The appearance of "Anubis X" in this regard, as shown in the above cited article, displays very vividly and truthfully many significant features—the solemn posture of the jackal-god, the distinct but delicate contour lines and graceful slenderness of the animal's body, its harmonious proportions, and the alert facial expression of Anubis *on guard* in his basic function of protecting the tomb against intruders. One also distinguishes the many fine details which the artist succeeded in bringing out and the thorough workmanship of the craftsman.² To what extent can these characteristics of the sculpture guide the investigator in dating it?

As is well known from the extensive studies of G. Roeder, the great majority of the existing bronze figures produced in ancient Egypt belong to the Late Period. In his classical work *Aegyptische Bronzwerke*, Roeder not only stresses this fact but even advises that, in every case of a newly encountered bronze figure, the latter should be

¹ See N. D. Ischlonsky, "A Peculiar Representation of the Jackel-god, Anubis," *JNES*, XXV (January 1966), 17–26.

² See pertinent details in the photographs of the "Anubis X" sculpture, reproduced in the above mentioned article.

attributed to the Late Period, "if there are not some special reasons against this."³ Roeder's advice was heeded with such zeal as to render the "Late Period" dating a quasi-automatic reaction on the part of many Egyptologists. This state of affairs is well characterized by William K. Simpson, who in a recent review of Roeder's work *Aegyptische Bronzefiguren*, very pointedly remarks: "Unless there is a fairly obvious characteristic, the museum label will generally describe the bronze as 'Late Period' or 'Saite', without much conviction being attached to this designation. In cases of particularly fine workmanship there is more likelihood that the label will read 'Dynasty XXVI' or 'Dynasty XXX'."⁴ The question may be raised whether, on the basis of its general appearance, the "Anubis X" sculpture can be attributed to any of the later periods of ancient Egypt's history. The above outlined characteristic traits of the figure speak strongly against such dating.

Indeed, the two most distinctive features of the Egyptian bronzes of the Late Period are their *mediocre artistic quality* and, especially, *lack of individuality*. The statistically most significant data in this respect have been furnished by Roeder. They cover 3508 sculptures, of which 972 figures are contained in the collection of the Egyptian Department of the Berlin Museum, and 2536 figures in the collections of other museums, including 987 specimens in the Cairo Museum. Roeder states that "out of this huge number of bronze statuettes, only a few specimens represent high quality art, many can barely be called 'applied art,' and most of them belong in the realm of mass-produced handicraft."⁵ As for the banal uniformity of the figures explored, Roeder points out that he was unable to separate with certainty the bronze figures of the Ptolemaic Period within the huge mass of such figures belonging to the Late Period. The only difference that could be discerned was that the Ptolemaic figures were even cruder than those of the Saite Period, displaying in most cases a heavy, often clumsy, form.⁶

The views of the majority of other scholars coincide with those of Roeder. Margaret Murray, who holds that the decay of Egyptian art had already begun shortly after the Twentieth Dynasty, and steadily increased thereafter, estimates that ninety per cent of the bronze statuettes filling the museums and private collections "have no artistic merit whatever."⁷ W. M. Flinders Petrie is even more outspoken. Discussing the work of the artists of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, Petrie says that "it is rarely that any fragment of this work does not betray itself by its inane treatment, bad jointing of the limbs, and want of proportion." Petrie judges even more severely the art of the Ptolemaic Period and states that in that era, "when the bad copy of a copy was the ideal," the faults of the artistic realization of the Saite Period were even more apparent.⁸

One may not agree fully with Petrie's sweeping statement regarding the art of the Saite Period, and admit that there is a certain number of bronzes of that Period in existence that are pleasing to the eye and well executed. However, what is always lacking in these figures is *individuality*. The latter quality of a creative act is incompatible with an "ideal" of copying, of imitating the old patterns, to which the Saite artist was dedicated and which of necessity killed any originality of artistic expression and led to

³ G. Roeder, *Aegyptische Bronzewecke* (Hamburg & New York, 1937), p. 128.

⁴ William K. Simpson, *JNES*, XXI, No. 4 (1962), 312.

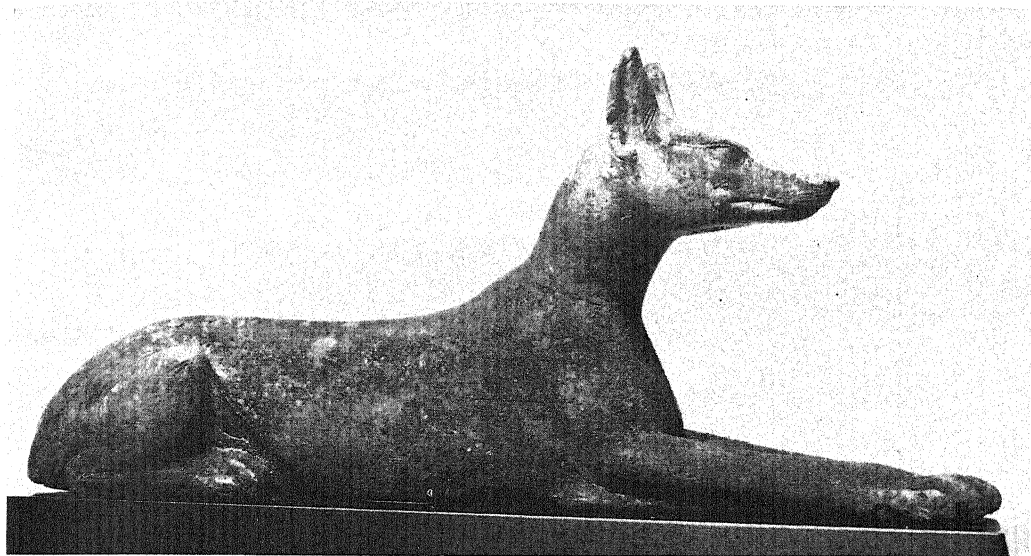
⁵ G. Roeder, *Aegyptische Bronzefiguren* (Berlin, 1956), p. 5.

⁶ G. Roeder, *Aegyptische Bronzewecke*, p. 249.

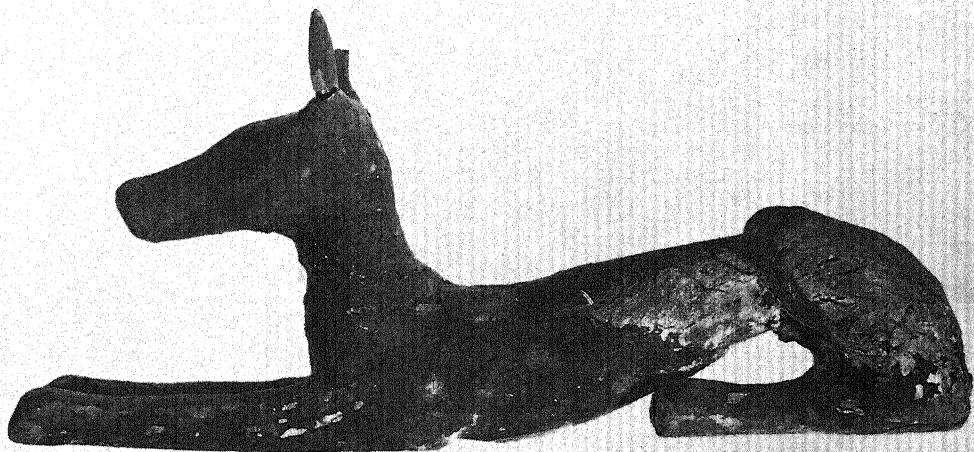
⁷ Margaret A. Murray, *Egyptian Sculpture* (London, 1930), pp. xxii, 152, 176. Also *idem*, *The Splendor That Was Egypt*, new rev. ed. (New York, 1963), p. 262.

⁸ W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Ancient Egypt* (Chicago, 1910), p. 21.

PLATE XI



A.—STATUE OF THE JACKAL-GOD ANUBIS IN THE COLLECTION OF THE FOGG MUSEUM (COURTESY OF FOGG ART MUSEUM, HARVARD UNIVERSITY)



B.—REPRESENTATION OF ANUBIS IN THE NATIONAL ART GALLERY, WASHINGTON, D.C. (COURTESY OF THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION)



A.—FIGURE OF ANUBIS IN THE LOUVRE (COURTESY OF THE MUSÉE DU LOUVRE)



B.—“ANUBIS X” (COMPARE LARGER REPRODUCTION, *JNES*, VOL. XXV [JANUARY, 1966],
P. 10)

PLATE XIII



STATUE OF ANUBIS FROM THE TOMB OF TUTANKHAMUN

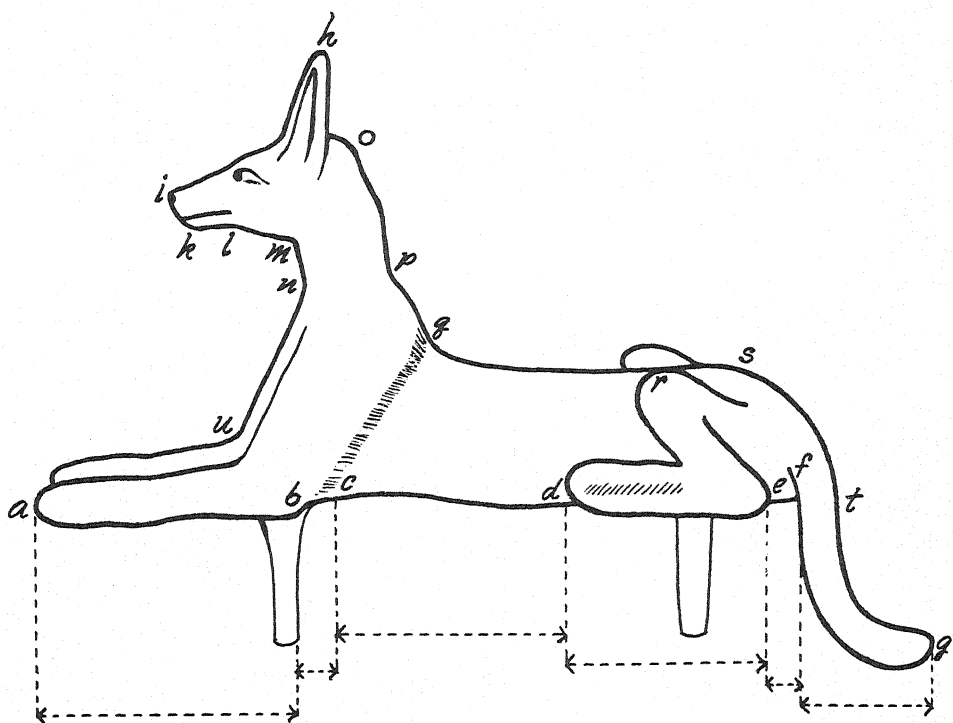


FIG. 1.—Diagram showing the natural proportions of the "Anubis X" bronze

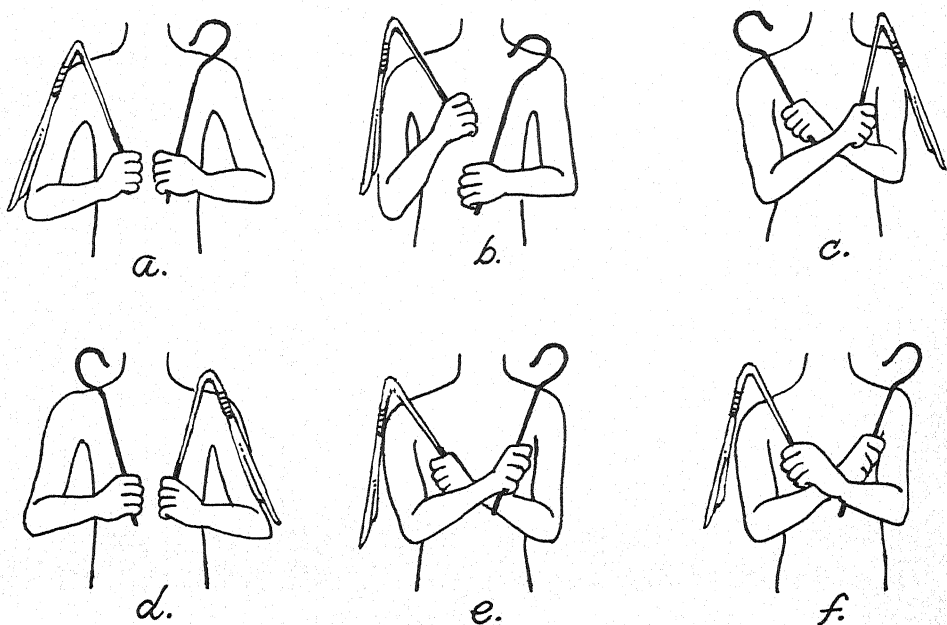


FIG. 2.—Variations in the position of the hands and regal insignia in statues of Osiris (after the data published by Roeder).

uniformity, monotony, and banality. This is well illustrated by the numerous characterless bronze statuettes of Osiris, or of Isis suckling Horus, that can be found in all museums, private collections, and in the shops of antiquity dealers.

If there is some difference of opinion among students of ancient Egyptian art regarding the decline of that art in the Saite and Ptolemaic times, there is general agreement that it underwent a complete decay under Roman rule, when the country was mercilessly exploited economically and politically and debilitated spiritually. It is enough to think of such figures as the representation of a Roman legionary with the head of the Anubis jackal in military stance, or the sculpture of a cavalryman with the head of the Horus falcon, riding his horse in elaborate Roman harness, to become aware of the poor esthetic quality, even the repellent grotesqueness, of this art.

The mediocre quality and banal appearance of the bronze statuettes belonging to the Late Period are to a great extent due to the special mass-production technique of casting that became extremely popular in that era. This technique, first recognized and described by Roeder thirty-three years ago, had been already, as is well known, in current use in the New Kingdom but underwent an extraordinary extension in the Late Period and the subsequent eras, in view of the great demand for bronze statuettes to be placed as offerings in the temples. Thanks to this technique, the artist no longer had to prepare an individual wax model of the entire figure he intended to cast. Instead, he used wax models of separate parts of such a figure, say the sculpture of a sacred animal—head, ears, arms, legs, torso, tail—which he obtained from solid plaster forms of the corresponding parts.⁹

Roeder estimates that every workshop possessed several dozens of such plaster molds which the artist was likely to need for the various types of bronze statuettes he could be expected to cast. The artist had only to join together the separate wax components in order to obtain the model of the figure as a whole. If—and this was very often the case—the separate wax components did not fit well into one another, the softness of the wax medium made it possible for the artist, by bending or stretching one or the other component, to correct to some extent the incongruities and to prepare in this way a model that was fairly satisfactory for mass-produced merchandise. Obviously, there could not be any particular artistic merit or any individuality in the products of such a technique. What is more, the universal application of this technique was bound to affect unfavorably the sculpture of the Late Period in general. It inevitably exerted a destructive influence on the sculptor's artistic sense and it demoralized his entire approach to his work, often developing in him a careless, even negligent, attitude.

It is noteworthy that all the sculptures of Anubis of the Late Period which I inspected—not only figures cast in bronze but also those executed in other media—exhibited the same poor artistic quality, being in most cases primitive in conception and crude in execution. It, therefore, seemed important to determine by what specific features the "Anubis X" representation differed from these figures, as far as general appearance is concerned. Among the thirty museum specimens I was able to examine closely, there were fourteen figures dated either to the Late Period, including the Saite era, or to the Ptolemaic Period. In *three* instances the dating was substantiated by other evidence. In the following pages, these three specimens—one contained in the collection of the Fogg Museum (Pl. XI, A), one in the Smithsonian Institution (Pl. XI, B), and one in

⁹ G. Roeder, *Aegyptische Bronzewecke*, pp. 188 ff.

the Louvre (Pl. XII, A)—are compared with the “Anubis X” sculpture (Pl. XII, B and Fig. 1).

Examining the photograph of the specimen in the Fogg Museum, one cannot fail to notice the heaviness and general clumsiness of the sculpture, the thickness of the trunk, the much too short and thick neck of the animal, the excessively long front paws, devoid of any marking of articulations between the toes and the forearm (cf. line *ab* in diagram, Fig. 1) and between the forearm and the upper arm. The separation between the thigh and the lower leg is very indistinct (cf. line *er*), and there is practically no delineation of the upper arm from the torso (cf. line *bg*). The torso is plump and heavy.

Even more manifest is the poor quality of the specimen in the Smithsonian Institution. Not only is the body grotesquely long, but the hind portion of the body is on a considerably higher horizontal plane than the shoulder blade (point *r* is much higher than point *g* or even point *p*). The very clumsy head shows no details, the contour line of the front portion of the chest (line *pu*) is actually vertical, the very long front paws are stiff and also without any detail, the position of the torso is no less false, rising in an almost straight ascending line from the low end of the chest to the hind part of the body (point *c*), the thighs are represented in a rough and sketchy way, and there are no markings of the muscles on any part of the body.

Of particular interest is the comparison of the Louvre specimen with the “Anubis X” sculpture, since both figures are made of bronze, by the same *cire-perdue* technique, and also because the Louvre figure is dated “Saite Period,” which is still regarded by some as an era of “renaissance.” Ironically, this statuette appears even more primitive in its conception and cruder in execution than the two previously cited specimens. Its contour lines are grossly distorted, the body is abnormally long, the head extremely narrow, while the neck is unnaturally large and thick. The front chest line bulges out, forming with the front contour of the neck an inverted S-like line (line *unm*). The lower contour of the head does not show any delineation between the muzzle and the throat. The front portion of the left side of the chest looks as if it were fallen in. The tail is thick and clumsy. The entire posture of the animal is as ugly as it is absurd, with the front portion of the body strongly bent forward so that the nose is on the same vertical plane as the toes of the front paws. It is noteworthy that this particular specimen is the finest of the three bronze figures of Anubis contained in the collection of the Louvre.

From the data expounded one may justifiably infer that, on the basis of its general appearance, the “Anubis X” sculpture can hardly belong to one of the later periods of ancient Egypt’s history.

II

The chemical analysis of an ancient Egyptian bronze sculpture is, as a rule, less informative than its general appearance. This is due to the fact that the composition of the bronze alloy in ancient Egypt was extremely varied.

As is well known, Egypt did not possess its own tin ores, which were necessary for the production of bronze. The alloy was imported to Egypt from several different regions—Syria, Mesopotamia, the Aegean Islands. Its composition therefore displayed an extraordinary diversity in the proportion of tin and lead. Thus, in a bowl from Thebes,

attributed to the Eleventh Dynasty, the analysis revealed a lead content of 8.5 per cent and a tin content of 3.5 per cent (a proportion of lead to tin of 2.4 to 1),¹⁰ whereas in an axe attributed to the Twelfth Dynasty, the content of lead was 0.8 per cent and that of tin 12.1 per cent (a reversed proportion of 15.1 to 1).¹¹

Even the bronzes imported from Mesopotamia, which, to use L. Aitchison's expression, "varied less *wildly* in their composition," displayed a very great variety in the proportions of their metallic components. In one case, for instance, the analysis revealed a content of tin as little as 0.1 per cent, and a content of lead of 3.3 per cent, that is, 33 times more lead than tin, while in another case a reversed relationship was found—a tin content of 12.7 per cent and a content of lead of only 0.3 per cent, in other words, 42 times more tin than lead. In a third instance, the content of tin proved to be 8.2 per cent and the amount of lead nearly the same, namely 7.7 per cent.¹²

In the later periods of ancient Egypt's history, including the Eighteenth Dynasty, the variety of the chemical composition of Egyptian bronzes was no less, if no more, pronounced, and the same holds true for the Greek era, when more "modern" techniques of manufacturing bronze were employed. Only one fact can be confidently affirmed. It has been pointed out by Partington, who, on the basis of numerous analyses carried out by Berthelot, Gsell, and Busch, states that "the old cast bronzes often contain 6 to 12 per cent of lead, added to increase the fusibility."¹³ Similarly very broad is the variation in the content of tin in these bronzes, which, according to A. Lucas,¹⁴ varied from 2 to 16 per cent. As for the proportion of lead and tin in the alloy, it varied, as the above cited examples show, to an almost disconcerting degree.

Much more uniform were the bronzes of the Roman Period, which, as a rule, displayed an extremely high content of lead. E. R. Caley has furnished pertinent data concerning this point.¹⁵ An animal statuette found in a well in Athens attributed to Roman times showed a content of lead of 34.6 per cent, that is, more than half of the copper content (60.4 per cent). A similar conspicuously high content of lead was found by Caley and his associates in the Athenian coinage bronze from the time of Roman rule, namely, an average of over 25 per cent. Not one of the coins examined showed a lead content of less than 13.26 per cent, while three samples displayed a lead content of nearly 30 per cent, and one a content of 32.51 per cent.

It is thus apparent that it would be very difficult, from the moderate and nearly equal contents of lead and tin in the composition of the "Anubis X" bronze, to draw definite conclusions concerning its age. The only inference that appears permissible is of a negative nature, namely, that this figure could not have been produced in the Roman era. As for previous periods, for obvious reasons, only the Old Kingdom can with certainty, and the Middle Kingdom with great probability, be excluded. One realises why the contemporary expert, when dating an ancient Egyptian bronze, which on the basis of its appearance and workmanship, cannot possibly belong to the Late Period, may of necessity have recourse to purely statistical, that is "probability" considerations, and be guided rather by several facts stressed by such authorities as J. R. Partington and

¹⁰ G. B. Phillips, *Ancient Egypt* (1924), p. 89.

¹¹ J. Sebelien, *Ancient Egypt* (1914), p. 8.

¹² L. Aitchison, *A History of Metals* (London, 1960), I, 76 ff.

¹³ J. R. Partington, *Origins and Development of Applied Chemistry* (London & New York, 1935), p. 73.

¹⁴ A. Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries* (3rd ed.; London, 1948), p. 249.

¹⁵ E. R. Caley, "Chemical Investigation of Two Ancient Bronze Statuettes Found in Greece," *The Ohio Journal of Science*, 1951, No. 1, pp. 6-12.

G. Maspero. The former expresses himself as follows: "Although there are bronze statuettes of the XVIII—XIX Dynasties, and the art of hollow casting appeared about 1500, perhaps from the Aegean, the most important of such castings, from the artistic view-point, are from the XXII Dynasty."¹⁶ G. Maspero is no less explicit. After stating that some Theban bronze figures "date quite certainly from the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties," he too asserts that "most important bronzes belong however to the Twenty-second Dynasty."¹⁷

The view of Dr. W. Young, who examined the "Anubis X" figure in 1963 and who dated it to the Twenty-second Dynasty,¹⁸ thus may be assumed to be based on the statistical evaluations of Partington and Maspero.

III

Of greater informative value for dating the "Anubis X" sculpture seems to be the striking digression from the orthodox pattern, seen in the shape of the animal's tail. When interpreting the possible significance of this digression, several facts relating to the influence of the religious cult on ancient Egyptian art should, I believe, be considered.

1. One is that this influence affected chiefly sculpture in the round—the form of representation that was used, as a rule, when gods or kings were to be depicted in their basic, solemn role, in all their dignity and authority. In these cases the pattern of representation had been well fixed in advance by the religious cult, and the artist had strictly to adhere to it.

The artist enjoyed much greater freedom of expression when he depicted the same kings in the setting of their daily life and activities, which was usually done in reliefs or in paintings. It is enough to compare any of the well familiar statues of the pharaohs, with such representations as the one seen on the panel of Tutankhamun's throne, to recognize clearly the fundamental difference: there—a cold, motionless pose, here—an intimate, informal composition, full of movement and life. The restrictive canons did not apply to the latter, but were imperative for the former—the king in his supreme image.

A similar distinction was made by the artist with regard to the representation of sacred animals. The most fundamental function and image of Anubis were those of *guardian of the tomb*. This image—the well known recumbent posture with the outstretched front paws, pricked up ears and watchful expression on his face, a pose just as solemn and immutable as the postures depicted in the statues of the pharaohs—is as a rule portrayed by the artist in sculpture in the round.

It is interesting that the representations of Anubis in the form of a human body with the head of a jackal, so frequently found in reliefs and paintings, are much more flexible, and the postures may greatly vary—walking, sitting, kneeling, both arms down, one arm up and the other down, arms crossed, and so on—depending on the particular task he is accomplishing: embalming the deceased person, leading in the dead for judgment, presiding over the ceremony of "weighing the heart," or even assisting the pharaoh in drawing the bow.

¹⁶ J. R. Partington, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

¹⁷ G. Maspero, *Egyptian Art* (London, 1913), p. 299.

¹⁸ "Report of the Department of Restoration, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, April 17, 1963 (Examination No. 63.58)."

2. Another circumstance to be taken into consideration when dating the "Anubis X" figure seems to me to be the fact that, within the realm of sculpture in the round, the restrictive art canons did not apply to the same extent and in the same manner to all attributes to be depicted. As the observations made in the course of the present investigation suggest, these attributes can be divided into three major groups.

The first group comprises those traits which are intrinsically bound up with the supreme role of the deity or king. Here belong the above-mentioned characteristic postures seen in the statues of the pharaohs: standing erect, with the arms at the sides of the body and the left foot forward, or sitting equally stiff, with the hands on the knees and the gaze directed straight ahead. These features consequently may be designated as invariable, unalterable attributes.

The same applies to the representation of the animal deities—the characteristic sitting posture of the graceful cat, the no less characteristic stance of the arrogant-looking baboon, the calm, majestic standing posture of the falcon, or the walking posture of the sacred bull. In the sculptures of Anubis, the above-mentioned alert but solemn, immutable position of the jackal-god clearly denotes his supreme function as guardian of the deceased, and therefore appears to belong to the group of inviolable traits.

The second group of attributes, which is subordinate to the first, may be designated as relatively variable. They may differ in different sculptures, but the range of variance is limited and finds expression only in a few well established patterns. It is this group of relatively variable traits which played a predominant part in G. Roeder's endeavor to work out a "typology" of Egyptian sculpture in the round, at least with regard to representations in bronze. To this group belong, for example, the various positions of the hands and of the insignia of royal authority—the scourge and the scepter—that can be seen in the statues of Osiris (Fig. 2). In some of them the hands are placed one above the other—a position which, as Roeder showed, was prevalent in Lower Egypt. In others, the hands are on the same level, one next to the other—a position predominant in Middle Egypt. In still others, the arms are crossed in front of the chest—a position prevalent in Upper Egypt. Again, in those cases in which one hand is placed above the other, it is either the right or the left hand that can be on the higher level. When the arms are crossed, the right hand is placed in front of the left, or vice versa. There may also be a different distribution of the regal insignia: in some cases the scourge is in the right hand and the scepter in the left, in others the reversed position is adopted.¹⁹ It is evident that all these predetermined variants, sanctioned by the art canons, do not in any way infringe upon the supreme image of the depicted god or king since they do not affect the expression of his boundless dignity and power.

It is noteworthy that the same category of relatively variable characteristics can be recognized in the statues of certain highly placed persons, such as high priests or royal scribes. A good example is the position of the legs in the statues of the squatting scribe. In some of them, such as the famous statue in the Cairo Museum, the left leg crosses in front of the right, in many others, such as the well known figure in the Louvre, the right leg crosses in front of the left. Here again the position of the legs does not affect in any way the general image of the scribe, his high dignity, his wisdom and authority, so well reflected in the expression of his face. It stands to reason that this group of attributes,

¹⁹ G. Roeder, *Ägyptische Bronzefiguren*, pp. 135 ff., 143 ff., 163 ff.

owing to the much greater variety of expressive attitudes of human figures, is also much more numerous in such figures than in those of animals. In some representations of the latter there may be no subordinate variants at all.

The third group comprises all those features in the representation of which very many variations are not only possible but even inevitable, since they are entirely unintentional, very often unconscious, depending essentially on the general intellectual background, esthetic sense, and mechanical skill of the artist. In the sculptures of Anubis which I have examined in the course of the present study, I have encountered numerous such variations: more or less distinct contour lines, a greater or lesser harmony of bodily proportions, a more or less skillful design or refined workmanship.

In evaluating the significance of the digressions from the orthodox pattern as seen in the "Anubis X" figure or in those that may be found in any other sculpture of ancient Egypt, for that matter, a clear distinction between the three major groups of attributes appears to be essential. Without such a distinction, errors in evaluating the origin, even the genuineness of Egyptian sculptures, are inevitable. A comparison of the aforementioned Anubis representations contained in the collections of the Fogg Museum, the Smithsonian Institution, and the Louvre (Pls. XI, *A* and *B*; Pl. XII, *A*) is in this regard very revealing. If an attribute belonging to the variable group in any of these three, all unquestionably authentic, specimens were used as a criterion of genuineness—say a certain contour line or a certain angle of inclination of one or another part of the body—then the two other specimens, if showing an entirely different angle of inclination of the corresponding part, would have to be considered spurious.

The Tutankhamun specimen (Pl. XIII), too, might, as the result of such a comparison, be judged forged. Indeed, if one used, as a criterion, the very acute angle (*ca.* 50°) between the front paws of the animal and the upper chest, as seen in the Louvre statuette, then the clearly obtuse corresponding angle (*ca.* 115°) in the Tutankhamun specimen (and also in that of the Fogg Museum) would suggest forgery. The same conclusion might be drawn, if one used as yardsticks for comparison the steeply ascending torso in the specimen of the Smithsonian Institution, or the very flat posture of the animal spread out in a strictly horizontal line over the base, as seen in the Louvre figure or in the sculpture of the Fogg Museum.

The source of error in the hypothetical cases cited is the fact that undue importance has been attributed to such features as a more gradually or more steeply ascending contour line, or a greater or lesser angle between two parts of the body of the depicted Anubis jackal—traits which are devoid of any special meaning since they belong to the very vast group of freely variable attributes.

Quite different is the case of such a characteristic in the orthodox representations of the jackal-god, as the enormous size and peculiar shape of the animal's tail—a peculiarity which deeply impressed Carter, and to the possible origin and meaning of which he devoted a lengthy discussion in his monograph on the discovery of Tutankhamun's tomb.²⁰ The special significance of this trait is further emphasized by the fact that, in spite of its flagrant unnaturalness, so foreign to ancient Egyptian art, it, for millennia, did not undergo any change. No less significant, of course, is the conspicuous abandonment of the traditionally unnatural image of the jackal-god by the artist, and his shift

²⁰ Howard Carter, *The Tomb of Tut. Ankh. Amen* (London, 1933), III, 41 ff.

to a perfectly natural representation, as seen in the "Anubis X" figure—an act which apparently was never repeated.

The results of the present investigation thus justify the inference that the "Anubis X" sculpture may be dated to that period in the history of ancient Egyptian art when the trend toward uncompromising naturalism in artistic representation was displayed by individual sculptors with particular force. This trend, as well known, became clearly noticeable under Amenhotep III. It reached the apogee of its development during the reign of Amenhotep IV—sometimes in highly exaggerated, even grotesque, forms but also in the beautiful works of such masters as Bek or Thutmose. It lingered on, after the death of the "heretic" king, throughout the final years of the Eighteenth Dynasty, embracing the reign of Tutankhamun and Ay, and extended into the Nineteenth Dynasty, notably into the reign of Seti I, and even into the early part of the reign of Rameses II. This era of strongly emphasized artistic realism covers a period of little more than a century.²¹ Judging by the above described traits of the "Anubis X" sculpture, it is thus the period around the Eighteenth-Nineteenth Dynasties, to which the creation of this figure may be most plausibly attributed.

It is to be noted that the other criteria used for dating the "Anubis X" sculpture and, especially, the distinctive traits of its general appearance—the neatly drawn contour lines, the harmonious bodily proportions and the very meticulous workmanship—point to the same era. The identity of the sculptor is hardly relevant. What is important is the fact that the realization of the "Anubis X" figure constituted an intentional act emphasizing the fundamental goal of artistic representation—realism, i.e. truthfulness to natural form.

This is all that can be justifiably concluded from the above described findings. More extensive studies and more complete data would be necessary in order to circumscribe more narrowly the period in which this sculpture was produced and to define more specifically the circumstances which led to this production.

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I wish to thank the Fogg Art Museum, the Louvre, and the Smithsonian Institution for permission to reproduce the photographs of several representations of the jackal-god contained in their collections.

It gives me particular pleasure to express my deep appreciation to Professor Keith C. Seele, Editor of the *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, whose highly constructive critical remarks and suggestions have been of invaluable help to me in preparing the manuscript of this essay.

²¹ G. Maspero, *op. cit.*, p. 224; also W. Stevenson Smith, *Ancient Egypt* (Boston, 1960), p. 113.

EPIC MOTIFS IN AMOS

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IN Semitic literature the world is theocratic; the gods treat it as they deem fit, without regard for man. As creators, they can destroy at will; man, a mere creature, is not free to question their purposes. He can only try to understand them and explain them to his fellows. The world, in the Semitic view, moves through its ordained processes in a cycle leading from creation to annihilation; this may be seen, for example, in the Mesopotamian myth of the deluge, which begins with the fashioning of men and animals and concludes with the destruction of mankind and the apotheosis of Ziusudra.¹ This flood story, the best known version of the destruction, is also extant in Akkadian recensions and in the Old Testament.

According to the Gilgamesh epic, the great gods simply decided that the time had come to destroy the world which they had created: "When their heart led the great gods to produce the flood . . ." (*ANET*, p. 93, l. 14). This was sufficient reason; it recalls God's words to Noah, "The end of all flesh has come to my mind" (Gen. 6:13). As A. S. Kapelrud has noted, Ea subsequently admits that Enlil had sent the flood as punishment for man's sin.² Even so, in Ea's judgment the punishment should have been less drastic: "On the sinner impose his sin, On the transgressor impose his transgression" (*ANET*, p. 95, l. 180); these words suggest the Old Testament doctrine of a *ḥattā't* ("sin offering") for a *ḥattā't* ("sin"; e.g. Lev. 5:6), and an *āwōn* ("punishment of iniquity") for an *āwōn* ("iniquity"; e.g. Ps. 69:28). The nature of the sin in the Epic of Gilgamesh is not specified; but the only sin for which the appropriate punishment consists of diminution of population is over-population. And in fact the Epic of Atrahasis states expressly that Enlil resolved to destroy man because "the land became wide, the people became numerous, The land bellowed like wild oxen. The god was disturbed by their uproar. [Enlil] heard their clamor" (*ANET*, p. 104, ll. 2-5). Mankind was competing with the gods, menacing their comfort and status; his increase was abhorrent to Enlil, and thus evil. Before the Noachic deluge too, "man began to be many," perhaps by implication "too many" (Gen. 6:1). His evil became much, and he became corrupt (Gen. 6:5). These terms imply merely that God was annoyed with man; the evil and corruption may well be equivalent to the numbers and noise of the Mesopotamian epic.

The Gilgamesh Epic notes a series of lesser disasters as possible alternatives to the flood, each serving to decrease the population, and to warn man that he must reform:

Instead of thy bringing on the deluge,
Would that a lion had risen up to diminish mankind!
Instead of thy bringing on the deluge,
Would that a wolf had risen up to diminish mankind!

¹ Citations of Sumerian and Akkadian myths refer to James B. Pritchard, editor, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*² (Princeton, 1955; hereinafter abbreviated *ANET*), especially pp. 42-44, "The Deluge," translated by S. N. Kramer; pp. 93-97,

"The Epic of Gilgamesh, Tablet XI," and pp. 104-106, "Atrahasis," both translated by E. A. Speiser.

² Arvid S. Kapelrud, "God as Destroyer in the Preaching of Amos and in the Ancient Near East," *JBL*, LXXI (1952), 33-38, especially p. 34.

Instead of thy bringing on the deluge,

Would that a famine had risen up to I[ay low] mankind!

Instead of thy bringing on the deluge,

Would that pestilence had risen up to smi[te down] mankind!

(*ANET*, p. 95, ll. 182-85)

The Epic of Atrahasis contains a similar sequence of warnings, but with the difference that they were actually inflicted (*ANET*, pp. 104-106). First there was a six-year famine, in which parents ate their children. When plenty was restored, man apparently reverted to his old ways. Enlil then sent a drought, accompanied by a failure of child-birth, to reduce the population. Eventually however, Atrahasis, an exceeding wise man, interceded for his fellows and won them respite. When man again waxed clamorous, Enlil afflicted them with a plague; it was finally stayed, again by the intercession of Atrahasis. But once more men became numerous and loud; they were smitten with a new drought, again with barrenness. At last, all lesser disasters having failed to reform humankind, Enlil sent a flood to obliterate them. On the transgressor was imposed his transgression.

In most versions a remnant survived the disaster: Ziusudra in the Sumerian epic, Utnapishtim in the Epic of Gilgamesh, Noah in Genesis, together with their families or associates. There is no reason to assume that the individual members of the remnant were any more moral than those who were destroyed. Since the means of destruction was nondiscriminatory, the sole virtue of the survivors lay in the fact that they were fewer.

These various parallels suggest an archetypal pattern for the literary epic of destruction. The gods, for some logical reason, determine to destroy mankind. The ultimate catastrophe is inevitable; but until it takes place, suspense is built up by several means. A series of minor disasters is sent as warnings. Sometimes a very wise man may intervene between gods and men, deferring calamity for a time. But all efforts to turn men from their ways proving futile, the gods at last resolve to carry out their original purpose, and wipe out mankind. They usually leave a remnant to enjoy the new era.³

The myth as thus outlined includes a number of themes or motifs which recur repeatedly in the Old Testament; their presence suggests a common literary source.⁴

Theme I. The first motif is the existence of a logical reason for the impending cataclysm. It is variously expressed as punishment for man's sins (so Ea, in the Epic of Gilgamesh), for man's numbers and noise, which disturbed the great gods (the epic of Atrahasis), and man's evil and wickedness, which grieved the deity (Genesis).

In the Old Testament, sin is invariably the forerunner of punishment. The sinner is regarded as the inferior one; simply by being inferior, the created is a sinner in the eyes of the creator. Sin is not so much an overt act on the inferior's part as it is the reaction of the superior's mind to the inferior's act, or even to the inferior himself. Sin may be considered an invention of the superior to furnish a logical reason for punishing the inferior. Sin, it is often said, is rebellion against God; but it is God who defines what constitutes rebellion.⁵

³ For a much fuller collation, with somewhat different emphasis, see Alexander Heidel, *The Gilgamesh Epic and Old Testament Parallels* (Chicago, 1946), pp. 224-69.

⁴ See further "Cultic Motifs in Hebrew Thought," *AJSL*, LV (1938), 44-55.

⁵ "Some Aspects of Sin in the Old Testament," *JNES*, VI (1947), 65-79, especially pp. 67-69.

The sin which led to the expulsion from Paradise was competition with God: "Man has become like one of us in regard to wisdom, and now lest he stretch forth his hand and take of the tree of life, and eat, and live forever (*sc.* we must drive him out)" (Gen. 3:22). The same fear of competition brought about the confusion of Babel (Gen. 11:6-7). In the wilderness the mutterings of the Israelites so annoyed Yahweh that he resolved upon their destruction (Num. 11:1; 21:5-6). It thus appears that the offense in the Epic of Atrahasis, over-population with its attendant noise and interference with the deity's peace of mind, is not in fundamental disharmony with one concept of sin in the pre-exilic authors of the Old Testament.

Over-population then was a sin, even despite the early divine injunction "to fill up the earth" (Gen. 1:28). As sin, it provided a justification for the inevitable and appropriate destruction; the sin was thus essential to the fulfilment of the world-cycle. For the epic, the sin ordained by God for his own ends was inescapable. The actions of mankind were irrelevant; he was bound to disregard the warnings of lesser disasters, in order that the drama might move immutably to its consummation. In just the same way, Hophni and Phinehas "would not listen to the voice of their father, because Yahweh was pleased to destroy them" (I Sam. 2:25).

In the eighth century prophets, the offense which triggers the destructive forces is regularly identified with moral or religious short-comings; even so the basic conception of sin does not differ radically from that expressed in the Pentateuch and the historical books. In the prophet's eyes, the only sin is his rejection by the leaders of the people. He is the authentic voice of Yahweh; a refusal to recognise him is a refusal to listen to Yahweh. Since the only true ordinance (*mišpāt*) comes from Yahweh, the leaders who spurn him are guilty of every civil and religious sin which the prophet's imagination can devise. Punishment, when it comes, is indiscriminate and diminishes the population. Why indiscriminate? Perhaps because all mortals, being inferior, are sinners; but more likely because all members of a group are liable for their leader's actions. Thus in the prophets of Israel, as in the Mesopotamian epics, sin is a reflex of the mind of God, and constitutes a logical reason for destroying the world. Sin is not yet a moral concept; this was not possible until man became an individualist, responsible for his own acts—in the post-exilic period.

The Book of Amos begins with an affirmation of God's power to destroy: "Yahweh from Zion roars, from Jerusalem sends forth his voice (*sc.* as a result of which) the habitations of shepherds mourn, the top of Carmel is dried up" (1:2). As in the Epic of Gilgamesh, no specific cause is here cited for Yahweh's displeasure; Amos, like the other prophets, identifies the causes of God's anger with specific sins related to his rejection by the king. These sins are later stated expressly, e.g. 2:14, rejection of the prophets; 4:12, refusal to return to Yahweh; 7:17, rejection of Amos.

Theme II. The second and third motifs in the epic of destruction are mere literary devices, intended to build up suspense and to enhance the dramatic effect of the interval between the decision to obliterate mankind and its execution. First come the minor disasters, which serve as warnings; in the Gilgamesh Epic these include the sending of lions, wolves, famine, and pestilence; in the Atrahasis Epic they were famine, leading to cannibalism, drought, cessation of child-birth, and plague. Such visitations are likewise familiar in the Old Testament, though indeed the list of wild animals as divine ministers is longer. Thus, a lion destroyed the Judean prophet on his way home from Bethel,

because he had disregarded instructions to return straight to Judah (I Kings 13:24). A prophet summoned a lion to destroy a man who had refused to strike him, "because he had not listened to the voice of God" (I Kings 20:36). Elisha cursed the children who had jeered at him, "and two she-bears came out of the woods and mangled forty-two boys" (II Kings 2:24). Lions were sent to prey upon the Samaritans "because they did not know the custom of the God of the land" (II Kings 17:25-26). The executioners of God's judgments "shall roar like young lions; yea, they shall roar, and lay hold of the prey, and shall carry it away safe, and none shall deliver it" (Isa. 5:29). Yahweh likens himself to a lion as an instrument of punishment: "For I will be like a lion unto Ephraim, and like a young lion in the house of Judah; I will rend and be gone; I will carry off with none to rescue" (Hos. 5:14); and again, "I will be unto them as a lion; as a leopard by the way will I observe them; I will meet them as a bear that is bereaved of her whelps" (Hos. 13:7-8). Amos too recognizes the lion as an effective instrument of divine punishment: the roar of Yahweh in Jerusalem shrivels up the utmost fringes of the land (1:2). "Shall a lion roar in the forest unless he have a prey? Shall a young lion send forth its voice from its den unless it have taken something?" (Amos 3:4). "As when a shepherd delivers from the mouth of a lion two shin bones or a piece of an ear, so will the children of Israel be delivered" (Amos 3:12).⁶

Famine, pestilence, and drought as tools of divine retribution in the Old Testament are too familiar to require full documentation. Since the outlook is national rather than universal, foreign invasion is added to the list. All four are among the punishments in store for the disobedient in Deuteronomy, chap. 28 (vss. 21, 24, 25, 38-39). A few observations on these themes will suffice. In the first place, they are non-discriminatory, and they do diminish the population; their currency in the Old Testament suggests an inherited tradition that over-population was the sin par excellence. In this connection one recalls the story of the plague which raged among David's people owing to his imprudently having had them numbered (II Sam. 24:1-17). Best known of all however is the story of the ten plagues of Egypt, culminating in the slaughter of the first-born; it is a literary masterpiece built on a solid epic foundation. Each successive plague adds to the suspense and carries on to the inevitable conclusion.⁷ The same themes are also attested in the eighth century prophets: famine (Isa. 14:30; Amos 4:6), drought (Amos 4:7), pestilence (Amos 4:10), and foreign invasion (Hos. 8:1-3; 10:14; Amos 3:6; 4:10; 6:14).

Theme III. A third epic motif is the presence of an intercessor who delays the ultimate catastrophe; this too is a suspense-building device. Thus Atrahasis arrested the famine and the plague. So too Moses, the prototype of the prophet, interceded repeatedly on Pharaoh's behalf (Exod. 8-10); and on behalf of the Israelites (Num. 11:2; 21:7); and Abraham interceded for Sodom and Gomorrah (Gen. 18:23-33). So too Amos poses as the intercessor for Israel (Amos 7:2, 5). In virtually all cases, the intercession is doomed to eventual failure. From a literary viewpoint, it would be disastrous if it were successful; for if the people did reform, the finale of the epic would be forestalled.

⁶ In the idyllic scene in which the wolf, leopard, lion, bear, and viper have become one with the lamb, kid, calf, and cow (Isa. 11:6-9), we are not to infer that the wild animals have changed their spots. Yahweh has merely relieved them of their normal function, the population being sufficiently diminished.

⁷ On the integrity of the plague story, see F. V. Winnett, *The Mosaic Tradition* (Toronto, 1949), pp. 3-15.

The so-called "writing prophets" resemble the "former prophets" (*nēbī'im*) in their awareness that they are the elect voices of Yahweh. But while the kings generally accepted the former prophets, they rejected the writing prophets. Even in the early period there was likewise a tradition of rejected prophets; it is noted by Elijah (I Kings 19:10) and by Elisha's emissary to Jehu (II Kings 9:7). One author comments that Yahweh's prophets had warned Israel and Judah repeatedly; "notwithstanding they would not listen" (II Kings 17:13-14). This traditional rejection is reiterated in II Kings 24:2-3 and Jer. 7:25-26; and Amos himself alludes to it (Amos 2:11-12).

But the intercessor passes easily over to become an issuer of warnings, in some sense combining the second and third motifs. Thus the prophet combines both roles; their literary purpose is identical. The prophet's verbal warning is doomed to be rejected, just as were the physical warnings of the minor disasters (cf. again I Sam. 2:25); otherwise the inevitable climax could be averted.

Theme IV. The forth motif is the inevitability of the cataclysm. In the Mesopotamian epics, it was a literary impossibility for man to change his ways; had he done so, the sending of the flood had been illogical, and the epic had been ruined. The same impression is left by the eighth century prophets: "Come, let us reason together: if your sins be like scarlet, can they become white like snow? If they be red like crimson, can they become white like wool?" (Isa. 1:18). These rhetorical questions, with their necessarily negative responses, are followed by a conditional choice which emphasizes the inevitability of destruction: "If you obey willingly you shall eat the good of the land, and if you rebelliously refuse you shall be devoured of the sword" (Isa. 1:19-20). The apparent choice offered is merely an illusion; the very nature of Israel is such that it must sin and be destroyed. This interpretation is confirmed by the instructions given to Isaiah when he received his commission: "Go, and tell this people, Keep on listening, but do not discern! Keep on seeing, but do not understand! Make the minds, ears and eyes of this people dull, lest they should become convinced of their guilt, and they should repent, and so have a healing;" and he was to follow these instructions until the land was depopulated (Isa. 6:9-12). A similar expression of the impossibility of repentance is to be found in Jer. 2:20-25.

Chapter 5 of Amos includes a series of couplets which ostensibly point to ultimate salvation. Closer scrutiny however reveals that they too are literary devices intended to emphasize the unescapable final destruction. The prophet's words, "Seek me that you may live" (5:4), and "Seek Yahweh that you may live" (5:6), apparently suggest that Israel may survive by accepting Amos as the authentic spokesman of Yahweh. But since the rejection of the prophet was a literary necessity, Israel's repentance was impossible; the proposition is thereby reduced to an absurdity. In like manner the prohibitions of verse 5 ("Seek not Bethel, . . . Gilgal, . . . Beersheba") emphasize the impossibility of repentance. Amos, an outsider, in advising the people to forsake their traditional orthodoxy and to abandon their ancestral shrines, can hardly have anticipated success. Verses 10-13 record specific faults of the leaders of the people and the consequent penalties. Most important, they have rejected the reprover and the one who speaks uprightly, just as they have rejected the prophet; the people thus deserve the coming doom. In verses 14-17, another impossible proposition demonstrates again that repentance, and thus salvation, is inconceivable: "If you hate evil and love good and bring near right order (*mišpāt*) in the court, Yahweh may be gracious to the remnant of Joseph" (Amos

5:15). Such is the impossibility of this that Amos at once turns to a description of the coming calamity, with the word "therefore" (5:16).⁸

The thought-sequence of this poem (Chapter 5) is not easy to follow; and it is often thought that excision and transposition are required if we are to recover the actual words of Amos. Admittedly the arbitrary re-shuffling of verses increases the danger of subjective interpretation. Even so we may venture to offer the following tentative rearrangement:

5:1: "Hear ye this word . . ."; a suitable introduction to an epic poem.

5:7, 10-13, 21-26: the sin of Israel defined, chiefly as injustice and ritualistic religion; a logical reason for the coming destruction.

5:4-6, 14-17: the prophet's warning ("Seek Yahweh, . . . lest he break out like fire"), with its implicit assurance of rejection; the promise of lamentation.

5:18-20: on a popular misconception, "the day of Yahweh"; imagery of the lion, bear, and serpent, traditional diminishers of population.

5:8-9: affirmation of Yahweh's power to create and destroy.

5:2-3: picture of a military disaster from which only a few survive.

5:27: the final catastrophe, the exile of the remnant; a suitably grand climax.

Theme V. The fifth theme of the epic of destruction is the survival of a remnant, Noah or his homologues. This theme is particularly common in Isaiah: "a very small remnant" (1:9); "the remnant of Jacob" (10:21); "the residue of his people" (28:5); in numbers equivalent to the olives left on the tree after harvest (17:6; 24:13). The book of Amos provides several more examples, usually expressed symbolically: the two shin bones and a piece of ear (3:12); "the brand plucked from the burning" (4:11); the decimated army (5:3); "the remnant of Joseph" (5:15); the siftings of the house of Israel among the nations (9:9). The remnant serves a two-fold literary purpose; in the first place, it emphasizes the magnitude of the destruction; and secondly, it provides a logical audience for the recitation of the epic.

A brief resume of the Book of Amos shows how frequently these traditional themes recur, after the initial announcement of the judgments in store for neighboring peoples: 2:6-8: Yahweh is disturbed at the injustice and corruption of Israel (*Theme I*).

2:9-12: Yahweh has sent his prophets and Nazirites to the Israelites in an effort to curb the cause of his disturbance, but to no avail (*Theme III*).

2:13-16: Israel is to be utterly destroyed; none shall escape (*Theme IV*).

3:1-3: Yahweh is disturbed at all the iniquities of Israel (*Theme I*).

3:4-8: Motifs of warnings to the people: imagery of the lion, the trap, the threat of invasion, the evil which may be either plague or famine, and the prophet (*Theme II*).

3:9-12: The offenses of Israel are to be punished; the avenging agent, symbolized by a lion, preys upon the people (*Theme IV*), of whom a small remnant (two shin bones and an ear) is rescued (*Theme V*).

4:1-3: The "heifers of Bashan," for their oppressiveness (*Theme I*), are to be carried into captivity, every one (*Theme IV*).

⁸ William Rainey Harper, *Amos and Hosea* ("ICC," New York, 1915), p. 126, interjects between verses 15 and 16 "a momentary pause, in which opportunity is given for an indication of assent"; when assent is denied, Israel must be punished. Karl Marti, *Das Dodekapropheton* (*Kurzer Hand-com-*

mentar zum alten Testament, XIII [Tübingen, 1904]), 186-98, circumscribes the difficulty by reading the verses in the order 1-6, 14-15, 7-13, 16-27. Ernst Sellin, *Das Zwölfprophetenbuch* (*Kommentar zum alten Testament*, XII [Leipzig, 1922]), 185-97, reads 1-6, 8-9, 7, 10-11, 14-15, 12-13, 16-23, 25, 24, 26-27.

- 4:4-5: Yahweh is annoyed at the regular practice of religious rites at the orthodox Israelite shrines (*Theme I*).
- 4:6-10: A series of lesser destructive forces: famine, drought, blasting, mildew, locusts and pestilence, war (*Theme II*).
- 4:11-13: A destruction comparable to that of Sodom and Gomorrah (*Theme IV*), from which there is a small residue, symbolized by the firebrand (*Theme V*). Affirmation of God's power.
- Chapter 5: See above.
- 6:1-7: The offense of luxury (*Theme I*), with consequent captivity (*Theme II*).
- 6:8-11: The offense of pride (*Theme I*), followed by plague and destruction (*Theme II*).
- 6:12-14: The sin of injustice (*Theme I*), punished by foreign invasion (*Theme II*).
- 7:1-3: A plague of locusts (*Theme II*) is stayed by the successful intervention of the prophet (*Theme III*).
- 7:4-6: The trial by fire (*Theme II*) is suspended by the prophet's second intercession (*Theme III*).
- 7:7-9: Utter destruction is decreed (*Theme IV*).
- 7:10-17: The king, through his priest, rejects Amos (*Theme I*); captivity is the retribution (*Theme IV*).
- 8:1-14: A series of warnings: 8:3, massacre; 8:8, earthquake and flood; 8:11-13, figurative famine and drought (*Theme II*).
- 9:1-8a: The great destruction (*Theme IV*), which is symbolized by the serpent (9:3), the sword (9:1, 4), the melting of the earth (9:5), and the flood (9:5-6).
- 9:8b-15: A remnant, restored to a land of milk and honey (*Theme V*). This section is usually thought to be a later addition; if so, the final redactor was evidently aware of the classical archetype.

The sequence of traditional themes in the Book of Amos is discontinuous from beginning to end; and the themes are repeated. Both characteristics are also found in the Mesopotamian Epic of Atrahasis. In each, the five motifs of the archetypal epic are woven together, to build up to a grand finale. Clearly the Book of Amos followed a traditional pattern; we may conclude that in its imagery and form it is literature rather than history, though indeed it may include elements of both. There are also traces of this same epic archetype in the other eighth century prophets; but their works do not adhere to the pattern as closely, perhaps because the texts have suffered more from subsequent editorial activity.

The evidence suggests that the "writing prophets" were originally influenced by the Babylonian epics, which aimed to interpret the inevitable doom impending on the people. This interpretation sheds new light on the rejection of the "writing prophets" by their age, and on the prophetic view of inevitable calamity; these are literary motifs derived from the epic rather than historical facts. If the writings of the prophets are pure literature, they are in a category similar to that of the midrash of the former prophets, to the post-exilic prophets, and to the wisdom literature of the post-exilic age.

ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE EGYPTIAN EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY*

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SINCE the Second World War the chronology of the Egyptian New Kingdom has been subjected to a good deal of intensive study. To the important contributions of Rowton,¹ Parker,² Helck,³ Cornelius,⁴ Edel,⁵ and Hayes⁶ must now be added the latest work of E. Hornung on the chronology and history of the New Kingdom.⁷ Hornung's is a thoroughgoing investigation which utilizes the latest Egyptological, Assyriological, and chronological results from studies in a wide range of disciplines. With his major results the present writer is in complete agreement. Thus it seems to me that Hornung is right in dating the accession of Thutmose III and Ramses II to 1490 and 1290 respectively, that he is correct in allotting to Thutmose II ten years, that he has solved (in favor of Thebes) the old problem of whether the observations which the Ebers Calendar presupposes were made in the Thebaid or the Delta, and that his rejection of the much-discussed Amenhotpe III-Akhenaten coregency is sound.

The present article represents the results of the writer's study of the chronology of the Eighteenth Dynasty undertaken some time ago but unfortunately delayed in publication. The results are in substantial agreement with those of Hornung, but from Amenhotpe III on there is some divergence. Starting from the datum of the Ebers Calendar Hornung establishes a maximum and minimum chronology for the Eighteenth Dynasty which he attempts to refine by recourse to the chronology of contemporary Western Asia. In contrast the present writer endeavors to establish a relative chronology and fix it by means of the accession year of Ramses II, appealing to the Ebers Calendar only for substantiation of the end result.

THE RELATIVE CHRONOLOGY OF THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY

Any attempt to assess the exact length of each reign of the Eighteenth Dynasty must make use of the following data: (a) the highest regnal year attested for the reign; (b) the

* The following are abbreviations not otherwise indicated in the footnotes:

ARE J. H. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt* (Chicago, 1906).

CoA H. Frankfort, J. D. S. Pendlebury and Others, *The City of Akhenaten* (London, 1923-1951).
Gauthier, *Livre H. Gauthier, Le Livre des rois d'Égypte* (Cairo, 1908-17).

LD R. Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien* (Berlin, 1849-1859).

TA Sir W. M. F. Petrie, *Tell El Amarna* (London, 1894).

Thronwirren K. Sethe, *Die Thronwirren unter den Nachfolgern Königs Thutmosis' I., ihr Verlauf und ihre Bedeutung* (Leipzig, 1896).

Urk. K. Sethe, W. Helck, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1906-1958).

¹ JEA, XXXIV (1948), 57 ff.; JNES, XVIII (1959), 213 ff.; JCS, XIII (1959), 1 ff.; JNES, XIX (1960), 15 ff.

² JNES, XVI (1957), 39 ff.

³ *Untersuchungen zu Manetho und den ägyptischen Königslisten* (Berlin, 1956); MIOF, II (1954), 189 ff.; MDIAK, XVII (1961), 99 ff.

⁴ AFO, XVII (1956), 294 ff.; JCS, XII (1958), 101 ff.

⁵ JCS, XII (1958), 130 ff.

⁶ "Chronology: Egypt—To End of Twentieth Dynasty," Part 1 of Vol. I, chap. vi, *The Cambridge Ancient History* (1962), 3 ff.

⁷ *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie und Geschichte des neuen Reiches* ("Ägyptologische Abhandlungen," Vol. 11 [Wiesbaden, 1964]); hereinafter abbreviated "Hornung."

figure given in the epitomies of Manetho; (c) the month and day of the accession to the throne. The following tabulation of the thirteen kings of the dynasty is accompanied by a bibliography of the texts which contain this data.

1. Ahmose.

Highest known regnal year: 22 (inscription in the Tura quarries).

Source: *LD*, III, 3a-b; *Urk.*, IV, 24 f.

Literature: Gauthier, *Livre*, II, 176 and n. 1; Wiedemann, *Geschichte*, p. 310, n. 2; *Idem*, *Supplement*, 35; Breasted, *ARE*, II, §27; Porter and Moss, *A Topographical Bibliography*, IV, 74; Hornung, p. 22.

There are at least two other monuments of Ahmose known which at one time contained regnal year dates, but the numbers are unfortunately broken off. One, which shows Ahmose together with his grandmother Tetysheri, commemorates building activity for Montu.⁸ The other recounts the conferment on Ahmose-Nofretari of the office of second prophet of Amun.⁹ The first, in view of the presence of Tetysheri, may date early in the reign.¹⁰ In the second the heir-apparent Ahmose-onkh is shown behind his father. The obscurity of this prince, who is otherwise unknown, could be explained by a death early in his father's reign. Thus the probabilities are that neither inscription comes from the latter part of the reign and that neither postdates the quarry inscription.

Length of reign: Since in all probability Josephus was the only one of the extant epitomizers of Manetho to have a copy of the *Aegyptiaca* before him,¹¹ it is likely that his figure of 25 years 4 months is the one which stood in the original. Whether Manetho is correct, of course, is a moot point. But there is no reason to doubt him, especially in the light of the Tura inscription.

Date of accession: No monument known today gives Ahmose's accession day.

2. Amenhotpe I.

Highest known regnal year: 21 (inferred from a passage in the autobiography of Amenemhet, Theban Tomb C. 2).

Source: E. Schiaparelli, *Actes du VIII^e Congrès des Orientalistes* (Leiden, 1892), IV, sec. 3, 203 ff.; L. Borchardt, *Altägyptische Zeitmessung (Die Geschichte der Zeitmessung und der Uhren)*, I [Berlin and Leipzig, 1920]), Pl. 18.

Literature: Gauthier, *Livre*, II, 176; Porter and Moss I², 457.

Length of reign:

Josephus:	20 years 7 months (Waddell, <i>Manetho</i> , p. 100).
Africanus:	24 years ¹² (Waddell, <i>ibid.</i> , p. 110).
Eusebius:	21 years (Waddell, <i>ibid.</i> , p. 114).
So this Book:	15 years (Waddell, <i>ibid.</i> , p. 240).

That 20 years 7 months is the correct figure for the reign of Amenhotpe I is supported by the lack of regnal years higher than 21 on the monuments, and by the datum in the

⁸ M. A. Murray, *Ancient Egypt*, 1934, p. 67, fig. 3.

⁹ I. Hariri, *ASAE*, LVI (1959), Pl. opposite p. 202.

¹⁰ Cf. Winlock, *Ancient Egypt*, 1921, p. 16.

¹¹ Lacqueur, *apud* Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Real-Encyclopaedia der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (Stuttgart, 1928), XXVII, cols. 1064 ff.

¹² It is possible that a later copyist has mistaken an original A for Δ. The fact that Eusebius, who drew largely from Africanus, has "21" suggests that Africanus at one time also had this figure.

autobiography of Amenemhet.¹³ It has been suggested that Amenemhet lived on into Thutmose I's reign.¹⁴ If so, the figure given for the number of years he passed under Amenhotpe I will be equivalent to the length of that king's reign, since Amenemhet had already entered upon his career under Ahmose. The closeness between the two sets of data, the Manethonian and that of Amenemhet, is sufficient to dispel any doubt that we have in Manetho the correct figure for the reign. The actual disparity of five months may be explained on the assumption that Amenemhet rounded off the odd seven months to the next highest year, as Eusebius appears also to have done.

Date of accession: Thutmose I celebrated his accession on the twenty-first day of the seventh month,¹⁵ and unless there were a coregency Amenhotpe I must have died the day before, the twentieth of the seventh month in his twenty-first year. In later times the seventh month took its name, Phamenoth, from a festival celebrated in honor of Amenhotpe I. Gardiner has identified this celebration with "the great festival of king Amenhotpe, lord of the town" which occupied about four days around the twenty-ninth of the month.¹⁶ Gardiner further notes a reference in a Turin papyrus to a ritual (?) designated as "the spreading (of a funeral couch?) for king Amenhotpe" on the fifteenth of the same month.¹⁷ One wonders whether the festivities connected with the memory of this king during the seventh month have anything to do with the anniversary of his death.

If the specific figure recorded in Manetho is correct, it should be expected that Amenhotpe I's accession would fall roughly seven months earlier in the calendar year than that of his successor Thutmose I,¹⁸ i.e. around xii, 21. Texts contemporary with the king's reign are silent, but in view of the later popularity and longevity of the cult a reference to the commemoration of the accession may be forthcoming from later sources. Černý, who has collected all the references to the festivals in honor of Amenhotpe I, mentions, apart from those cited above, a celebration on iv, 30 and another on ix, 27.¹⁹ These are of no help, but two other festivals in the first and eleventh month respectively come closer to the postulated date. The first is mentioned on two Cairo ostraca published by Daressy and dated to the twenty-ninth and thirtieth day of the same month,²⁰ the second in a British Museum ostrakon²¹ and a Turin papyrus²² dated respectively to xi, 13 and xi, 11. Although Gardiner halts between the two, he is inclined to accept as inevitable the choice of one of them as the anniversary of Amenhotpe's accession day.²³ In fact there is no choice. The root *ḥꜥ* appears in both Cairo ostraca as a verb, the forms being a *šꜣm.n.f* in No. 25275 and a *šꜣm.in.f* in No. 25276. The translation must be (we give No. 25276 since it is more complete) "Year 6, first month of *akhet*, last day; on this day king Amenhotpe appeared and greeted the gang (i.e. the necropolis workmen)." In other words, this

¹³ There is not the slightest ground for emending the "21 years" of Amenemhet's biography to "31" as Cornelius does in *AFO*, XVII (1956), 306. The mere fact that Amenhotpe I celebrated a *sd*-festival has no bearing on the problem, since we simply do not know what principles guided the New Kingdom Egyptians in fixing a date to celebrate this festival. True, it was often after a king had reigned thirty years, but not invariably so; cf. Meyer, *Geschichte*, II, Part 1, p. 78.

¹⁴ Brunner, *MIOF*, IV (1956), 327.

¹⁵ See the stela recording the accession of Thutmose I, in which the twenty-first day of the seventh month is called "the festival of the accession" (*ḥb n ḥꜥw*), *Urk.*, IV, 81.

¹⁶ Gardiner, *JEA*, XXXI (1945), 25. Helck seems to favor this festival as the anniversary of Amenhotpe's accession but ultimately remains undecided: *Studia Biblica et Orientalia*, III, 115.

¹⁷ Gardiner, *loc. cit.*

¹⁸ Hornung, p. 32.

¹⁹ Černý, *BIFAO*, XXVII (1927), 182 f.

²⁰ Daressy, *Ostraca*, "Catalogue générale du musée du Caire" (Cairo, 1901), 70 (No. 25275), 71 (No. 25276); Černý, *loc. cit.*

²¹ Blackman, *JEA*, XII (1926), Pl. 42, recto 8.

²² Botti and Peet, *Il Giornale della necropoli*, Pl. 58:1; Erman, *SPAW*, 1910, p. 345(9).

²³ Gardiner, *loc. cit.*

is merely a festal appearance of the cult image, and has nothing to do, at least insofar as the present wording signifies, with the king's accession day or "Krönungsfest."²⁴ In the sources which mention the celebration of the eleventh month the noun *ḥ'y-nsu* is used, and since it consistently designates accession (and not coronation), it must be concluded that the passage refers to the king's accession, or rather to the festival in honor of the anniversary of the accession. This festival clearly lasted several days, the eleventh and thirteenth being included; but whether the anniversary began or concluded the festival is unknown. All that can be said is that the accession of Amenhotpe I took place toward the middle of the eleventh month, necessitating a modification of Manetho's total from seven months to eight.

3. Thutmose I.

Highest known regnal year: 9 (inscribed block from Karnak).²⁵

Source: Mariette, *Karnak* (Paris, 1875), pl. 32 f.; Sethe, *Thronwirren*, §55.

Literature: Gauthier, *Livre II*, 215; Porter and Moss, *II*, 41; Sethe, *APAW*, 1932, pp. 85 f.; Borchardt, *Mittel*, p. 79; Helck, *Untersuchungen zu Manetho und den ägyptischen Königslisten* ("Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens," Vol. XVIII [Berlin, 1956]), 65; Hornung, p. 32.

Date of accession: vii, 21 (stela of Turo at Wady Halfa).

Source: P. Lacau, *Stèles de la nouvelle empire* ("Catalogue générale du musée du Caire" [Cairo, 1909]), Pl. 5; Sethe, *Urk.*, IV, 79 ff.; Erman, *ZÄS*, XXIX (1891), 116 ff.

Literature: Gauthier, *Livre II*, 212; Porter and Moss, *VII*, 141; Gardiner, *JEJ*, XXXI (1945), 25; Helck, *Studia Biblica et Orientalia*, III, 115.

Length of reign: The fraction of the final year of Thutmose I can be deduced with some certainty. Since he came to the throne on vii, 21 and since his successor came to the throne on ii, 8 (see below), his final regnal year amounted to six months twenty-two days. But the number to be assigned this last regnal year remains uncertain. Part of the uncertainty revolves around Manetho. In the version of Josephus Amenophis is followed by his sister Amesses with a reign of twenty-one years nine months.²⁶ This figure clearly belongs to Hatshepsut, although she has been confused here with her mother Ahmose.²⁷ Amesses is followed in turn by Mephres for twelve years nine months and by Misphragmouthosis for twenty-five years ten months, the latter being apparently Thutmose III.²⁸ Two questions immediately arise: where did Thutmose I and II go, and who is the mysterious Mephres who intervenes between Hatshepsut and Thutmose III? Helck answers both questions with a single ingenious hypothesis.²⁹ According to him the confusion in the Manethonian lists has come about through reading the first six names of

²⁴ Contra Borchardt, *Die Mittel zur zeitlichen Festlegung von Punkten der ägyptischen Geschichte* (Cairo, 1935), p. 29 (hereinafter abbreviated *Mittel*).

²⁵ Borchardt (*ibid.*, p. 79; cf. Sethe, *APAW*, 1932, pp. 85 f.) dates this block to the reign of Thutmose III for two reasons: first, it seems to have been found in close proximity to an inscription of that king; second, the presence of two *isd*-trees inclosing the cartouche suggests a *sd*-festival (sic). Since *sd*-festivals were often celebrated in Year 30, so the argument goes, the present block cannot possibly be dated to the reign of Thutmose I. It must belong to the reign of his grandson, and thus the *sd*-festival of Thutmose I celebrated in his thirtieth year (sic) fell

in the eighth year of Thutmose III, whose reign must consequently have begun while his grandfather was still alive. The rebuttal of this ingenious but entirely unconvincing argument has been given by Edgerton in *AJSL*, LIII (1937), 189, n. 4.

²⁶ Contra Apionem, I, 15.

²⁷ J. von Beckerath, *OLZ*, LIV (1959), 10; Fecht's suggestion that *Amessius* is a mistaken writing of **Ameus* (*ZDMG*, NF, XXXV [1960], 120) is ingenious but seems unlikely.

²⁸ Maspero, *Histoire*, II, 76, n. 1; Weill, *JA*, 1910, pp. 325 ff.; but cf. Maspero, *RT*, XXVII (1905), 15 f.

²⁹ *Untersuchungen zu Manetho*, p. 40.

the Eighteenth Dynasty horizontally rather than in two vertical columns in which they were arranged. Though many may choose to remain uncommitted on this hypothesis, the emendation of the list which Helck proposes would find wide acceptance: Amosis (1), Amenophis (3), Mephres (5), Chebron (2), Amesses (4), Misphragmouthosis (6). Mephres with a reign of twelve years nine months now becomes Thutmose I. The highest date on Thutmose's monuments, viz. Year 9, does not conflict with Manetho's twelve, but the year fraction six months twenty-two days is in marked disagreement with Manetho's nine months. No more can be done than to note the discrepancy and set on record our present knowledge: Thutmose I reigned nine years six months twenty-two days + x, of which x, if it is not zero, cannot be less than one whole year.

4. Thutmose II.

Highest known regnal year: 18 (?) (statue-inscription from Thebes).

Source: Daressy, *ASAE*, I (1900), 99.

Meyer³⁰ and now Gardiner³¹ seem inclined to allow at least the possibility that Daressy's copy of this text (now lost) is correct. Other scholars, however, reject it and make no use of it in their computations.³² The argument that Thutmose II could not have reigned as many as eighteen years because his extant monuments are few and bear no dates higher than Year 1, is quite fallacious.

Date of accession: ii, 8 (stela between Aswan and Philae).

Source: *LD*, III, 16a; *Urk.*, IV, 137; Sethe *Thronwirren*, p. 81.

Literature: Gauthier, *Livre*, II, 227 f.; Porter and Moss, V, 245; *ARE*, II, §119 f.; Gardiner, *JEA*, XXXI (1945), 25 ff.; Sethe, *Thronwirren*, §18, 50.

Gardiner³³ understands *h^ct*, "appearance," to mean "accession" here, but Helck has recently challenged this rendering.³⁴ Even though the adjunct *m nsu*, "as king," is not present, the addition of "on the throne of Horus of the living" lends support to Gardiner. Indeed, if Gardiner's translation is not accepted, it would be difficult to construe the "appearance" with any passage later in the inscription. In cases where a formal court ceremony is being described the verb *h^cy* is usually accompanied by some delimiting adjunct which tells where or how the "appearance" took place. A good example occurs in this very inscription, (*Urk.*, IV, 140): "lo, his majesty appeared on the dais when the living captives which this army had brought were dragged in." But there are no temporal or locative qualifications present in the first line of this text. Consequently the present writer feels no hesitancy in following Sir Alan's translation, and in understanding this date as that of the accession.

Length of reign: Manetho allots thirteen years to a certain Chebron, generally thought today to be a garbled form of *h^c-hpr-n-r^c*, the prenomen of Thutmose II.³⁵ The monuments give a minimum of eighteen years, or, if Daressy's copy is ignored, one. Helck has sought to show³⁶ that Manetho's datum is reliable. If Hatshepsut celebrated her *sd*-festival which took place in her sixteenth year thirty years after her father appointed

³⁰ *Geschichte*, II, 1, 110, n. 1.

³¹ *Egypt of the Pharaohs* (Oxford, 1960), p. 180.

³² Helck, *op. cit.*, pp. 65 f.; Hayes, "Egypt: Internal Affairs from Tuthmosis I to the Death of Amenophis III, Part 1," in *CAH*, Vol. II, Chap. IX (1962), 6, n.8; Edgerton, *The Thutmosid Succession* (Chicago, 1933), p. 33; Sethe, *APAW* 1932, pp. 26 f., Hornung, p. 33.

³³ *JEA*, XXXI (1945), 26.

³⁴ *Untersuchungen zu Manetho*, p. 66, n.1; *Studia Biblica et Orientalia*, III, 115.

³⁵ Helck, *op. cit.*, p. 40; Gauthier, *Livre*, II, 227, n. 2; Maspero, *RT*, XXVII (1905), 16; cf. Sethe, *ZAS*, XXXVI (1898), 75.

³⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 65.

her to be coregent, and if the latter event took place in Thutmose's last year, then exactly thirteen years remain for Thutmose II. The argument is not compelling, however, since (a) we are ignorant of the considerations which led to the decision that a *sd*-festival should be celebrated, and (b) Hatshepsut's appointment by her father was in all probability a fiction.³⁷ The latter objection could be circumvented by assuming that, though fictional, the appointment which she claimed had taken place was taken seriously by those computing the date for her *sd*-festival. But what assurance have we that this fictional appointment was dated by the queen to her father's last year? That Thutmose II himself celebrated a *sd*-festival³⁸ is again without value for the chronologist for the reason mentioned under (a) above.

What is probably a reference to the length of Thutmose II's reign occurs in the stela of Nebwawy.³⁹ Nebwawy tells of three successive stages in his career in the priesthood of the Abydene Osiris. In the first he occupied the post of "deputy" (*idnw*) of the temple, during the second he was advanced to the high priesthood in the same shrine, and in the third he was appointed "manager" (*r³-hry*) in the mortuary establishment of king Ahmose called *H^c-mnw*.⁴⁰ Nebwawy makes further statements regarding the length of each of these periods in his life. Regarding the first he says '*h^c nn r rnpt 11*,'⁴¹ regarding the second he uses the same construction save that the numeral is now 6; the third period is said to have lasted *nfryt r rnpt 9*. Admittedly the word for "year" in each of these passages looks like *rnpt* (though it may well have been pronounced *h³t-sp*). This fact coupled with the frequent use of *r* to denote a total of units of time⁴² would suggest on the face of it that what we have here is the total of years Nebwawy passed in each office, viz. 11, 6, and 9 years respectively. But the third passage cannot possibly be interpreted this way. *Nfryt r* denotes the day, month or year which brings a span of time to a close, and must be rendered "down to such-and-such (a point of time)."⁴³ Hence *nfryt r rnpt 9* must be translated "down to year 9,"⁴⁴ and the other two passages which are clearly parallel to the third would be rendered respectively "the period of these things lasted until year 11," and "the period of these things lasted until year 6." That a writing resembling *rnpt* occurs in all three passages where *h³t-sp* would normally be expected is not a problem, since the early New Kingdom attests several peculiar means of expressing "regnal year."⁴⁵ The king who authorized Nebwawy's second promotion, and presumably his third as well, is stated in line 11 to have been Thutmose III, and the dates Year 6 and Year 9 can only refer to his regnal years. But the king under whom Nebwawy was first appointed is designated only as *nb.f*, "his lord." The fact that the year number in the first passage (11) is higher than those which follow must mean that this is the regnal year of Thutmose III's predecessor, Thutmose II. The course of Nebwawy's early career is plain. He was appointed deputy some time during Thutmose II's reign, and held the office until that king's eleventh year. He was then promoted to high priest, but not by Thutmose II. It was his son Thutmose III who was now on the throne. Nebwawy

³⁷ Cf. Schott, *Nachr. Gott.* 1955, p. 213.

³⁸ *ASAE*, XXX (1930), Pl. 5.

³⁹ Spiegelberg, *RT*, XIX (1897), 97 f.; Sethe, *Urk.*, IV, 207 ff.; *Hieroglyphic Texts in the British Museum*, VI, Pl. 47.

⁴⁰ The mortuary temple of Ahmose at Abydos: cf. Randall-Maciver and Mace, *El Amrah and Abydos* (London, 1902), pp. 75 f.

⁴¹ Breasted's belief (*ARE*, II, 73, n. d) that "3" is to be read instead of "11" is incorrect; cf. Capart, *ZAS*, XLIII (1906), 162.

⁴² Cf. Sethe, *ZAS*, XXXVI (1898), 72; Gardiner, *Grammar*³, § 163:3.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, § 179.

⁴⁴ Sethe, *op. cit.*, pp. 72 f.

⁴⁵ E.g. Lacau, *ASAE*, XXXIX (1939), Pl. 37; A. B. Chace and others, *The Rhind Mathematical Papyrus*, I:2; *Urk.*, IV, 606:6, 1252:11.

held the office until Thutmose III's sixth year, and then until Year 9 received the (additional?) function of head of a local mortuary temple. Thus year 11 of Thutmose II at which time Nebwawy was promoted by *Thutmose III*, must represent the highest year of Thutmose II's reign. Since Thutmose II died on the third day of the ninth month, this eleventh regnal year amounted to six months, twenty-five days.

5. Thutmose III.

Highest known regnal year: 54 (biography of Amenemheb).

Source: Müller, *Egyptological Researches*, I, Pl. 38; *Urk.*, IV, 895.

Literature: Gauthier, *Livre*, II, 260 f.; Porter and Moss I², 172; Breasted, *ARE* II, §592; Hornung, pp. 33 f.

Date of accession: ix, 4 (inscription on the seventh pylon, Karnak).

Source: Legrain, *ASAE*, IV (1904), Pl. 3; *Urk.*, IV, 180.

Literature: Porter and Moss, II, 55; Breasted, *ARE*, II, §594; Gardiner, *JEA*, XXXI (1945), 26; Helck, *Studia Biblica et Orientalia*, III, 116.

Length of reign: 53 years, 10 months, 26 days (biography of Amenemheb).

Sources and literature: see above.

6. Amenhotpe II.

Highest known regnal year: 26 (hieratic docket from mortuary temple).

Source: Petrie, *Six Temples at Thebes*, Pl. 5:3, 5, 6.

Literature: *ibid.*, p. 5, 21; Griffith, *PSBA*, XXXI (1909), 42 ff.; see also the discussion below.

Date of accession: iv, 1 (stela of the viceroy of Kush, Semneh).

Source: Helck, *JNES*, XIV (1955), Pl. 2; *Urk.*, IV, 1343.

Literature: Gardiner, *JEA*, XXXI (1945), 27; Hornung, 34 f.

Length of reign: The highest date for Amenhotpe II known from the monuments is Year 26. The date, contained in a docket from the king's mortuary temple, was long rejected by some scholars as evidence for the length of the reign, since it was maintained that the jar could easily have come from a later reign.⁴⁶ The gradual vindication of those who clung to the docket as valid evidence⁴⁷ came with the discovery of monuments dated later than the fifth year (the date of *Papyrus Rollin 1887*). The evidence of the viceroy's stela dated the Year 23 is adequate proof that there is no reason further to object to the assigning of the docket to Amenhotpe.

The fact that the provenance of the docket was the king's mortuary temple argues a date late in the reign for the inscription. Since pottery jars are relatively porous the wine which they contain must be consumed not long after bottling.⁴⁸ A mortuary complex would be fully stocked with wine only upon the death of a king, or at least when it became clear that a king was upon the point of death. In fact up to that time in many cases a mortuary temple would probably still be in process of construction. The Eighteenth Dynasty list of Manetho contains a figure "26" (more specifically in Josephus 25 years 10 months), but this is attached to a certain Misphragmouthosis. Most scholars have taken the name to be a garbled form, ultimately derived from the prenomen and part

⁴⁶ Gauthier, *Livre*, II, 276, n.3; Griffith, *PSBA*, XXXI (1909), 42 f.; Meyer, *Geschichte*, II, Part 1, p. 148, n. 1; cf. Maspero, *Histoire*, II, 292; Wiedemann, *Geschichte*, p. 374; Maspero, *RT*, XXVII (1905), 16.

⁴⁷ Cf. Petrie, *Six Temples*, p. 5; *idem*, *History*, II, 154; Breasted, *ARE*, I, 43; *idem*, *History*, p. 327; Bilabel, *Geschichte*, p. 324.

⁴⁸ Cf. Fairman, *CoA*, III, 154.

of the nomen of Thutmose III. The figure "26," however, bears no relation to the length of Thutmose's reign. Helck has suggested⁴⁹ that order can be brought to this part of Manetho's list by assuming two metatheses, one of the names Thmosis and Amenophis (Nos. 7 and 8), and the other of the numbers attached to Misphegmouthosis and Amenophis. The latter then would follow the former and be credited with the 25 years 10 months.⁵⁰

Hornung has made a significant contribution in assessing the exact length of the coregency of Thutmose III and Amenhotpe II.⁵¹ He points out that the Manethonian figures for Hatshepsut and Thutmose III (as restored by Helck), viz. 21 years 9 months, and 30 years 10 months, yield in sum the length of Thutmose III's official reign down to the association of Amenhotpe II with his father on the throne. The subtraction of this total, viz. 52 years 7 months, from the 53 years 10 months 26 days of Amenemheb's biography gives approximately 1 year 4 months, which must correspond to the duration of the coregency.

7. Thutmose IV.

Highest known regnal year: 8 (rock stela on the island of Konosso).

Source: *LD*, IV, 128; J. De Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments et inscriptions de l'Égypte antique* (Cairo, 1894), I, 66 f.; *Urk.*, IV, 1545.

Literature: Gauthier, *Livre*, II, 292; Porter and Moss, V, 254; *ARE*, II, §825 ff.; Hornung, p. 35.

The month and day in this inscription, viz. vii, 2, look suspiciously close to the month and day in the other Konosso stela of Thutmose IV, viz. vii, 8.⁵² Yet the latter is dated to Year 7. It would be gratifying to be able to connect the two monuments with the same event (a rebellion in Nubia); but this would probably involve changing one of the regnal years. Helck⁵³ would emend the date on the earlier stela to read "Year 8," but I can see no valid reason for not emending in reverse fashion.

Date of accession: Nowhere given specifically. On the basis of Amenhotpe II's accession on iv, 1, and if the Manethonian 25 years 10 months be correct, Thutmose IV must have come to the throne early in the second month of the calendar year.⁵⁴

Length of reign: Manetho (*apud* Josephus) gives the length of the reign of Thutmose (Thmosis) as 9 years 8 months. In the light of the evidence of the monuments, which attest regnal years up to 8, such a figure seems likely.

8. Amenhotpe III.

Highest known regnal year: 38 (16 ostraca from the Malqata palace).

Source: Hayes, *JNES*, X (1951), 47, fig. 7:61-62 (= *CdE*, XXIV [1949], fig. 9, C-D); *Idem*, *op. cit.*, 51, fig. 11:142-4; *Idem*, *CdE*, XXIV (1949), fig. 9, E.

Date of accession: There is no known text which gives the date of Amenhotpe III's accession, unless it be the rock stela at Aswan.⁵⁵ This is unlikely, however, since an

⁴⁹ *Untersuchungen zu Manetho*, pp. 40 and 66.

⁵⁰ On the explanation of the number "31" as the period of sole rule of Thutmose III between the death of Hatshepsut and the beginning of the coregency with Amenhotpe II, see *ibid.*, p. 66.

⁵¹ On the coregency of these two kings, see Helck, *MDIAK*, XVII (1961), 99 ff.; Redford, *JEA*, LI (1965), 107 ff.

⁵² *LD*, III, 69 e; Budge, *The Egyptian Sudan*, I, fig. on p. 603; *Urk.*, IV, 1556; Gauthier, *Livre*, II, 292.

⁵³ *Urk.*, IV, *Übersetzung*, p. 148, n. 2.

⁵⁴ Not *proyet*, *pace* Helck, *Untersuchungen zu Manetho*, p. 67; see Hornung, p. 35.

⁵⁵ *LD*, III, 81 g; De Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments*, I, 4; *Urk.*, IV, 1665 f.; Gauthier, *Livre*, II, 308; Porter-Moss V, 245; Breasted, *ARE*, II, § 844; Säve-Söderbergh, *Ägypten und Nubien*, pp. 158 ff.

inscription on the island of Sai dated about ten days before the Aswan text, and describing manifestly the same campaign against Nubia, is likewise assigned to regnal year 5.⁵⁶ The date on the Aswan stela does not mark a change in regnal year and cannot therefore be the anniversary of the accession. According to the Sai inscription the Nubian campaign began (or was already in progress) in year 5, ii, 23 (?), and according to a text from Buhen⁵⁷ it had come to an end on an unspecified day in the first month of *shomu* (ix) in the same year. We are left with months x to xii, i, and most of ii of the calendar year. If Thutmose IV lived only ten months into his tenth regnal year, as Manetho states, and if his accession fell in month ii, Amenhotpe III would have come to the throne in month x. As Helck has pointed out,⁵⁸ such a computation fits well with the *sd*-festival date given in the mortuary chapel of Amenhotpe son of Hapu, viz. xi, 2.⁵⁹

Length of reign: The latest regnal year attested by Malqata dockets is 38, and it is not likely that Amenhotpe reigned any longer. The figure which in all probability once stood in Manetho's *Aegyptiaca* is 38 years 7 months,⁶⁰ but this would seem to be about one year too high.⁶¹

9. Akhenaten.

Highest known regnal year: 17 (28 ostraca from Tell el-Amarna).

Source: *TA*, Pl. 22:1; *CoA*, I, Pl. 63:G, K; *CoA*, II, Pl. 58:13, 14; *CoA*, III, Pl. 85:17, 32; Pl. 86:51; Pl. 90:143; Pl. 91:173; Pl. 95:279. Hornung, 36 f.

Gunn was at one time inclined to postulate a regnal year higher than 17, and was only deterred from reading "21" instead of "11" on one of the Amarna ostraca apparently by the fact that Year 17 was otherwise the highest recorded date from the site.⁶² Seele, on the basis of the hieratic alone, felt compelled to lay aside *a priori* considerations and admit the existence at Amarna of a "regnal year 21."⁶³ In a recent article, however, Fairman asserts that a re-examination of the hieratic docket by himself and a number of other eminent scholars has resulted in the definite exclusion of the reading "21" as a possibility.⁶⁴ However this may be, those who have only Gunn's facsimile before them will be forced to admit that *prima facie* probability lies with the reading "21." If now the present writer returns to the reading "regnal year 11," it is solely because of an awareness of the increasing weight of the *argumentum e silentio*: if Akhenaten did attain a twenty-first year it is inconceivable that Years 18,⁶⁵ 19, and 20 should be entirely absent from the Amarna dockets, especially in view of the large number of dockets dated to Year 17 and before.

Date of accession: No known text records unequivocally the day of the king's accession, but there is some evidence on which to compute it. If the accession of Amenhotpe III fell in month x, and if his final regnal year lasted only seven months, his son Akhenaten would have ascended the throne in month v. One wonders whether the renewing of the

⁵⁶ Vercoutter, *Kush*, IV (1956), 81.

⁵⁷ *Urk.*, IV, 1758.

⁵⁸ *Untersuchungen zu Manetho*, p. 67; *Studia Biblica et Orientalia*, III, 117.

⁵⁹ Robichon and Varille, *Le Temple du scribe royal Aménophis fils de Hapou*, Pl. 35.

⁶⁰ See Helck, *Untersuchungen zu Manetho*, p. 67.

⁶¹ Otherwise we should expect to find ostraca of Year 39 at Malqata, unless the site was abandoned during Amenhotpe III's final year.

⁶² *CoA*, I, 165, n. 1: "in the absence of other evidence as to the reign extending beyond year 17, no one will want to read the dating of I, pl. LXIII, as 'year 21.'"

⁶³ *JNES*, XIV (1955), 175.

⁶⁴ Fairman, *JEA*, XLVI (1960), 108; Hornung, p. 36, n. 52.

⁶⁵ On the supposed Regnal Year 18 of Bennett, see Fairman, *loc. cit.*

oath at the frontier stela in year 8,⁶⁶ which took place on v, 8, was intended to coincide with the anniversary of the accession.⁶⁷

Length of reign:

Manetho is in confusion here, allotting to three separate kings named Akencheres 12 years 1 month, 12 years 5 months, and 12 years 3 months respectively.⁶⁸ The highest dates from Amarna are year 17, and the conclusion is justified that this was Akhenaten's last year. But it is unknown how many months of this year the king survived.

10. Smenkhkare.

Highest known regnal year: 3 (hieratic text in tomb of Pere, Thebes).

Source: Gardiner, *JE A*, XIV (1928), Pl. 5; *Urk.*, IV, 2024.

Literature: Gauthier, *Livre*, II, 344; Porter and Moss, I², 253, Newberry, *JE A*, XIV (1928), 3 ff.; Seele, *JNES*, XIV (1955), 172 f.; P. Van der Meer, *Ex Oriente Lux*, XV (1957-1958), 74; G. Roeder, *ZÄS*, LXXXIII (1958), 44 f., 63 f., Hornung, p. 37.

Date of accession: Nowhere indicated on the monuments.

Length of reign: Probably about three years. Manetho sheds no light.

11. Tutankhamun.

Highest known regnal year: 10 (hieratic docket from the king's tomb).

Source: Černý, *JE A*, L (1964), 39; Engelbach, *ASAE*, XL (1940), 163.

Literature: Hornung, p. 38.

Date of accession: Nowhere indicated on the monuments.

Length of reign: The highest regnal year preserved is 10, and since it was found in wine dockets from the royal tomb, wine of that year was presumably the most recent available when the king died. This suggests that Tutankhamun's last complete year was his ninth. Manetho records about this time a king with a reign of nine years, but the name is an otherwise unknown "Rathotis."

12. Ay.

Highest known regnal year: 4 (stelas in the Louvre and Berlin).

Source: *LD*, III, 114i *Urk.*, IV, 2110.

Literature: Gauthier, *Livre*, II, 376; Hornung, p. 38.

Date of accession: Nowhere indicated on the monuments.

Length of reign: The highest known regnal year is 4. Is it possible that the 4 years 1 month which Manetho (*apud* Josephus) gives to Haremhab were originally assigned to Ay?

13. Haremhab:

Highest known regnal year: 59(?) (inscription of Mes, Sakkara).

Source: Loret *ZÄS*, XXXIX (1901), 10; Gardiner, *The Inscription of Mes* ("Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens," IV [Leipzig, 1905]), 22, n. 72.

Literature: Gauthier *Livre*, II, 386, and n. 2; Porter and Moss, III, 129; E. Meyer, *Ägyptische Chronologie* (Berlin, 1904), p. 90, n. 2; Borchardt, *Mittel*, p. 85, n. 5; U.

⁶⁶ *Urk.*, IV, 1986; Gauthier, *Livre*, II, 347.

⁶⁷ Hornung thinks Akhenaten came to the throne in August, arguing that the vintage of Amenhotpe III's thirty-ninth year (gleaned in the summer) was bottled and sealed (Autumn) under Akhenaten: p. 77 f.

⁶⁸ On the possible derivation of Akencheres from *ih-n-Itm Nfr-hprw-r* see Helck, *Untersuchungen zu Manetho*, p. 41.

Hölscher, *Excavations at Ancient Thebes* (Chicago, 1930), p. 51 n. 1; Anthes *apud* Hölscher, *The Excavations of Medinet Habu. II. The Temples of the Eighteenth Dynasty* (Chicago, 1939), 107 f.; E. Drioton and J. Vandier, *L'Egypte*⁴ (Paris, 1962), pp. 386 and 662; Hayes, "Chronology: Egypt—to End of the Twentieth Dynasty," in *Cambridge Ancient History*, 2d ed., I, 18 f., Hornung, pp. 38 ff.

The reading of the numeral is probably "59" though Borchardt has argued for "58."⁶⁹ The present writer, on the spot in the summer of 1962, believed "59" was a better reading, but could not honestly eliminate all doubt.

Ever since Loret's publication this date has been correctly understood as having been reckoned from the accession of Akhenaten. Thus the reigns of the heretic and of his three immediate successors were under the Nineteenth Dynasty reckoned as belonging to Haremhab.

Date of accession: Nowhere indicated on the monuments.⁷⁰

Length of reign: Since the inscription of Mes does not record the length of Haremhab's reign, other evidence must be adduced. From the mortuary temple of Ay at Thebes comes an ink graffito which reads as follows:⁷¹ "Regnal Year 27, first month of *shomu*, day 9; the day on which Haremhab l.p.h., who loves Amun and hates his enemies, entered (the temple of Ay?)." Hölscher⁷² interpreted this text as referring to Haremhab's accession and entry into the temple twenty-seven years after Amenhotpe III's death. But, as Anthes pointed out,⁷³ the concept of the era beginning with Amenhotpe's demise arose only after the reign of Haremhab; he himself did not employ such an era in his dating system. Von Beckerath saw in the graffito a reference to the passing of Haremhab himself, a view which has been combated by Wilson.⁷⁴ The only reasonable understanding of this text is that Haremhab in his twenty-seventh year visited Thebes and entered Ay's temple, for what purpose we can only guess, but perhaps during the course of a festival. Fairman's suggestion⁷⁵ that the date be assigned to the reign of Ramesses II is not probable. He favors reading *n pr* in place of *tr.n*, an emendation which would have the effect of making the "entry" anonymous and of conjuring up a "house of Haremhab." The addition of a long epithet after Haremhab's name in a form which suggests a living, eulogized hero rather than a forty-years defunct king, militates strongly against Fairman's reading.

Two ostraca from Amarna bear dates in Regnal Years 28 and 30 of an unnamed king.⁷⁶ They are usually attributed to Amenhotpe III; but, as Giles has suggested,⁷⁷ they could as easily date from a later reign, and Haremhab's is the only reign of sufficient length within the range of the paleography. In support of Giles it should be noted that the ostrakon of Year 30 comes from the north suburb where occupation continued latest at the

⁶⁹ Mittel, p. 85, n. 5.

⁷⁰ Hornung (pp. 38 f.) places his accession at the beginning or middle of the second month, on the assumption that his coronation at Thebes coincided with the feast of Opet in the same month. This, however, seems rather doubtful, for it is likely that some little time elapsed from the death of Ay—at which time Haremhab was in the north (*Urk.*, IV, 2116:10–15)—to the coronation in Thebes, which may very well have been planned for the same time as the feast of Opet. The date of the coronation is no reliable guide to the date of the accession.

⁷¹ Hölscher, *Excavations at Ancient Thebes*, pp. 51 and 53, Fig. 35; Anthes, *apud* Hölscher, *The*

Excavations of Medinet Habu, II, 106 ff., Fig. 90, Pl. 51 c. See also Borchardt, *Mittel*, pp. 85 ff.; Von Beckerath, *Tanis und Theben* (Glückstadt, 1951), p. 104; Wilson, *JNES*, XIII (1954), 128; Fairman, *CoA*, III, 158; Hornung, p. 39.

⁷² *Excavations at Ancient Thebes*, pp. 51 ff.

⁷³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 106 f.

⁷⁴ *Loc. cit.*

⁷⁵ *Loc. cit.*

⁷⁶ *CoA*, II, Pl. 58:47; III, Pl. 91:168.

⁷⁷ *The Amarna Period* (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of London), p. 7.

site.⁷⁸ If the fifty-nine years of the Mes inscription represents the span of time from Amenhotpe III's death to Haremhab's death, the length of the combined reigns of Akhenaten, Tutankhamun, and Ay (30 years) would leave twenty-nine years for Haremhab, and Regnal Year 30 would thus represent his last.

THE ABSOLUTE CHRONOLOGY OF THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY

The absolute chronology represented by the table which follows depends upon the date of Ramesses II's accession, and the lengths of the reigns of his immediate predecessors Ramesses I and Sety I. The date of Ramesses II's accession has been investigated by the writer elsewhere,⁷⁹ and like Hornung he has come to the conclusion that the evidence strongly supports 1290 B.C.⁸⁰ The total of the reigns of Ramesses I and Sety I is reckoned at thirteen years (2 + 11⁸¹), the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty thus falling in 1303.

Allowance has been made for only one coregency, viz. that of Thutmose III and Amenhotpe II of about 1½ years' duration (see above, p. 120). In the absence of proof of any kind the postulated coregency of Amenhotpe III with Akhenaten will have to be rejected;⁸² and the coregency of Akhenaten and Smenkhkare, while historical, did not issue in the independent reign of the junior partner. As for the early part of the dynasty, a little evidence (mainly juxtaposition of names) suggests coregencies of Ahmose with Amenhotpe I,⁸³ Amenhotpe I with Thutmose I,⁸⁴ and Thutmose II with Thutmose III.⁸⁵ But there is no indication that any of the three involved the overlapping of regnal years of the coregents. Hence, apart from Thutmose III and Amenhotpe II, the reigns of the Eighteenth Dynasty may be added without risk of an inflated total.

TABLE 1

KING	YEAR	MONTHS	DAYS	ACCESSION DAY	DATES
Ahmose	25	4	?	?	Mar. 1558-Jul. 1533
Amenhotpe I	20	7	?	xi, ?	Jul. 1533-Mar. 1512
Thutmose I	12	6	22	vii, 21	Mar. 1512-Sept. 1500
Thutmose II	10	6	25	ii, 8	Sept. 1500-May 1490
Thutmose III	53	10	26	ix, 4	May 1490-Mar. 1436
Amenhotpe II	25	10	?	iv, 1	Nov. 1438-Sept. 1412
Thutmose IV	9	8	?	ii, ?	Sept. 1412-May 1402
Amenhotpe III	38	7	?	x, ?	May 1402-Jan. 1363
Akhenaten	17	?	?	v, ?	Jan. 1363-? 1347
Smekhkare	3(?)	?	?	?	1349(?)—1347(?)
Tutankhamun	10	?	?	?	1347—1338
Ay	4	1	?	?	1337—1333
Haremhab	30(?)	?	?	?	1333—1303

⁷⁸ For traces of occupation at Amarna during the reign of Haremhab, see *T.A.*, Pl. 11:5; *Co.A.*, III, 12, Pl. 60:3; Newton, *JEA*, X (1924), 293; Frankfort, *JEA*, XIII (1927), 210.

⁷⁹ *Seven Studies in the History and Chronology of the Egyptian Eighteenth Dynasty* (Toronto, 1965), chap. 7.

⁸⁰ See Hornung, pp. 50 f. and 57 f. Hornung's choice of 1290 B.C. is a happy one; but the evidence with which he supports it does not prove what he claims it does; cf. Rowton, "Chronology: Ancient Western Asia" (chap. 6 of *Cambridge Ancient History*, I, 2d ed.), 46, n. 4.

⁸¹ Hornung (pp. 40 f.), 14 + x.

⁸² On the subject of this long-debated coregency, see Campbell, *The Chronology of the Amarna Letters* (Baltimore, 1964); Helck, *OLZ*, LIX (1964), 459 ff.; Hornung, pp. 71 ff.; Redford, *Seven Studies*, chap. 5.

⁸³ Legrain, *Répertoire généalogique et onomastique du musée du Caire*, Nos. 15, 17.

⁸⁴ Chevrier, *ASAE*, XLVII (1947), 167, Pls. 24 and 26.

⁸⁵ *Urk.*, IV, 180; see Sethe, *APAW*, 1932, No. 4, 69.

š^eqā^arūrōt: A PROPOSED SOLUTION FOR AN UNEXPLAINED HAPAX*

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THE word š^eqā^arūrōt, which occurs only in Lev. 14:37, has not yet, to my knowledge, been properly understood. I shall attempt to determine its meaning and etymology and at the same time to account for its unusual form. The proposed solution is of consequence in view of the bearing it has on the question of contact between Biblical Hebrew and "ancient West-Arabian."¹

The verse reads: "If, when he examines the plague, the plague in the walls of the house is found to consist of greenish or reddish streaks [š^eqā^arūrōt], which appear to go deep into the wall, the priest shall come out of the house to the entrance of the house, and close up the house for seven days" (JPS, 1962). RSV translates "spots"; and ASV, "hollow streaks" (KJV, "hollow strakes"). The word in question was understandably perplexing to medieval Hebrew grammarians and lexicographers. Abraham b. Ezra (1092–1167), for example, was uncertain whether it should be considered a quadriliteral or a quinqueliteral,² and Jonah b. Janāḥ (eleventh century) had difficulty schematizing it.³ According to a widely accepted view, š^eqā^arūrōt is derived from the stem qā^ar (q^arā) with performative š^e-, and therefore means "depressions, hollows," or the like. This explanation was first suggested, apparently, by C. B. Michaelis (1680–1764), *Lumina syriaca* (Halle, 1756), p. 20, whence it was adopted by W. Gesenius in his *Hebräisch-deutsches Handwörterbuch*, II (Leipzig, 1812), 1132b (and in the two subsequent editions of 1823 and 1828, but not in the Latin *Lexicon* of 1833). It was accepted, i.e., by the lexicographers, J. Fürst (*Hebräisches und chaldäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament*, II [Leipzig, 1861], 495a); F. Brown, S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs (*A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament* [Oxford, 1957], p. 891a, s.v. q^a-r, citing Gesenius' *Grammar*, para. 55i [ed. E. Kautzsch and A. E. Cowley (Oxford, 1957), p. 153]); and L. Koehler and W. Baumgartner (*Lexicon in veteris testamenti libros* [Leiden, 1958], p. 1009a, and *Supplement*, p. 191, citing H. Bauer and P. Leander, *Historische Grammatik der hebräischen Sprache des Alten Testamentes*, I [Halle, 1922], 486); and by the commentators, A. Bertholet (*Leviticus* [Tübingen and Leipzig, 1901], p. 48); A. Dillmann (*Die Bücher Exodus und Leviticus*, [2d ed.; Leipzig, 1880], p. 518); and S. D. Luzzatto (*Il Pentateuco, volgarizzato e commentato*, III, *Levitico* [Padua, 1874], 109). One may cite as an alternate attempt to isolate the stem qā^ar the proposal of David b. Abraham al-Fāṣī (tenth century) that the š^e- in š^eqā^arūrōt is the relative pronoun š vocalized with š^ewā as in Eccles. 2:22 and 3:18 (which he cites as examples).⁴ Others have discriminated

* I wish to thank Professors Judah Goldin, Marvin H. Pope, and Franz Rosenthal for reading this paper and for making helpful suggestions.

¹ See C. Rabin, "The Ancient Arabic Dialects and their Relationship to Hebrew," *Mekilah*, II (1946), 252–55 (in Hebrew); and *idem*, *Ancient West-Arabian* (London, 1951), esp. pp. 26–28.

² See his comment *ad loc.*, *Pērūš hat-īōrā* (Constantinople, 1514), p. 58a.

³ See his *Kūāb al-luma'*, ed. J. Derenbourg, "Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études," fasc. 66 (Paris, 1886), p. 133 (Heb. tr., *Sēfer hā-riqmā*, ed. M. Wilensky, I [Berlin, 1928], 157).

⁴ See his *Kūāb jāmi' al-alfāz (Aḡrōn)*, ed. S. L. Skoss, II (New Haven, 1945—"Yale Oriental Series, Researches," XXI), pp. 562 and 634.

the stem *šāqa*⁵, which suggests a similar meaning ("depressions, hollows").⁵ It is difficult to determine whether LXX *koiládes*, Targ. Onkelos *paḥ^atān*, and Vulg. *valliculae* are predicated upon this stem or *qā^aar* (or both). There have also been attempts to analyze the long word into two components, *šāqa*^a plus some other element or stem. M. M. Kalisch, for example, regards the final consonant *r* as an affix which is repeated for emphasis (*A Historical and Critical Commentary on the Old Testament*, II, *Leviticus* [London, 1872], 252). Ibn Ezra, *loc. cit.*, cites and quite properly rejects the conflate *šāqa*^a and *rār* (for *rār*, see Lev. 15:3). It is also mentioned in the name of others by Johann Buxtorf (1564–1629) in his *Lexicon hebraicum et chaldaicum* (Basil, 1621), p. 838, translating "*profunditates salivantes*" *sive* "*fluentes*." David Qimḥi (or Qamḥi, *ca.* 1160–1235) proposes the conflate *šāqa*^a plus *šā^aar* (for *šā^aar*, see e.g., Jer. 29:17) in *Sēfer haš-šorāšim*, ed. J. H. R. Biesenthal and F. Lebrecht (Berlin, 1847), p. 408a (and see Johann Habermann [1516–1590], *Sēfer haš-šorāšim* [Witeberg, 1589], p. 841, translating "*profunditates horribiles*"). Johann Simonis (1698–1768) offers the conflate *šāqa*^a plus *qā^aar* in *Lexicon manuale hebraicum et chaldaicum*, II (3d ed. by G. Eichhorn; Halle, 1793), 1717 (the 1st ed., which I have not seen, was printed in 1752), as does J. D. Michaelis (1717–1791), *Supplementa ad lexica hebraica*, VI (ed. T. C. Tychsen; Göttingen, 1792), 2349. It was adopted by Gesenius as an alternative to the *šaf^ael* theory (and mentioned on its own in the 1833 *Lexicon*).

None of the proposals, clever as they may have been, can be pronounced successful, and it should be noted that RSV and JPS are noncommittal with respect to the suggested etymologies. Of the commentaries and translations consulted by me, one actually coincides with the meaning which will be suggested below, i.e., *P^ešittā q^elāfē*, "scales." But to arrive at this meaning, an explanation is required. I propose that the Arabic word *iqša^aarra* provides us with a plausible solution (i.e. *q-š^a-r* in the IVth [if'alalla] form of quadrilaterals which answers to the IXth [if'alla] form of trilaterals; see, e.g., W. Wright, *A Grammar of the Arabic Language*, I [3d ed., rev. W. R. Smith and M. J. De Goeje; Cambridge, 1955], 49, para. 72). *Iqša^aarra* means "to be coarse to the touch, rough; to be dry, ashen, shriveled on account of drought (e.g. earth, vegetation); to be dried up, mangy, scabby, to bristle up, to be affected by tremor or horripilation from a chill, horror, fright, awe, or revulsion (e.g. the skin)."⁶ *Iqša^aarra* has undergone the same semantic transference as Latin *horreō* ("bristle up") > *horror* ("shaking, horror").⁷ The concrete meaning ("coarse, rough") is primary, and the sense of "to be horrified, awed, revulsed, chilled" is traceable to the physical state of horripilation. One may note also in this connection the obsolete English verb "horre," the definition of which, by the *Oxford English Dictionary*, V (1961), 391c, corresponds to that of the Arabic word, viz., "to stand on end (as hair), to bristle, to be rough, to shake, tremble, shiver, shudder, quake; to shudder at, dread, loathe." If *iqša^aarra* (and its derivatives) is correctly adduced as the *explicans* of *š^eqa^arūrōt*, the meaning of the latter would be "coarse, crusty, scaly spots" or, simply, "scales." The fact that the blight is depressed in the surface of the wall is indicated in the verse by the words "which appear to go deep into

⁵ See, e.g., the comment of Rashi *ad loc.*, citing *Sifrā*.

⁶ See Ibn Durayd (223/837–321/933), *Kitāb jamharat al-luḡa*, III (Hyderabad, 1345), 339, 1, 14; 382, 2, 25; and 396, 1, 2; and see *Lisān al-ʿarab*, VI (Bulāq, 1300), p. 405, *s.v.* *š-q-r*; E. W. Lane, *An*

Arabic-English Lexicon (ed. S. Lane Poole, I, 7; London and Edinburgh, 1885), p. 2526a, *s.v.*; and R. Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*, II (Leiden, 1881), 350b, *s.v.*

⁷ See C. D. Buck, *Comparative Grammar of Greek and Latin* (Chicago, 1933), p. 52.

the wall" and not by the word š^eqa^arūrōt, which has nothing to do with hollows or depressions. The blight in question is described by G. R. Driver *et al.* in J. Hastings, ed., *Dictionary of the Bible* (rev. ed.; New York, 1952), p. 578, as follows: "What is meant is 'the formation of a flocculent mass of calcium nitrate, such as often takes place when the gases set free from decaying animal matter act on the lime of plaster and is sometimes called mural salt. This, with an accompaniment of mould or other hypomycetous fungus, produces an appearance like that described' (Macalister). The fungus, too, of dry rot eats into the woodwork, and sheets of felt-like texture with a greenish-yellow or red surface, half an inch or so thick, are formed between the lath and the plaster, especially in damp structures shut off from the circulation of the air (Creighton)." Our interpretation of š^eqa^arūrōt is clearly consistent with this description.

In the next section it will become evident that the order of the first two radicals in Arabic q-š-^c-r is, in all probability, primitive. Hebrew š-q-^c-r has, therefore, undergone metathesis of the two initial consonants. Apart from this minor difference, the consonantal pattern of the two words is identical, including the final gemination. In the case of two such unusual words, given the similarity of usage, the possibility of mere coincidence, which must always be entertained, is reduced to a minimum. Semantically and phonetically, we are, therefore, under the impression of a strong likelihood of kinship. The only fly in the ointment is Arabic š = Hebrew š. Where š occurs in Hebrew, we normally expect, of course, to find s in Arabic. Assuming that š was the original phoneme, we must posit that, for some reason, the regular shift š > s did not occur in this case. One may note in this connection the exceptions to the normal equivalence of Hebrew š/s with Arabic š in C. Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen*, I (Berlin, 1908), p. 130.⁸

II

A few comments on the form and etymology of iqša'arra are now in order, since the unusual features of the Hebrew word in consideration are thereby provided with an appropriate background and elucidation. Iqša'arra, in all probability, belongs to a class of quadrilaterals which appear to be formed on a trilateral base by the infixing of a hamza, ^c, ġ, or h between the second and third radicals. (I do not know of any demonstrable examples of a similar occurrence of ħ or ḥ.) A few examples in which the stem is thus developed may be cited: iśma'azza ("to contract, shrink, shudder, abhor") < šamaza ("to feel disgust"); iśma'anna ("to be tranquil, at ease, composed") < ĩ-m-n II ("to be quiet, calm"); iḃḃa'arra ("to be scattered, dispersed, frightened away") < baḃara ("to sow, disseminate, scatter"); ismaḡadda ("to be swollen, angry"), cf. ismadda (IX), ismādda (XI), and isma'adda; and izmaharra ("to have eyes bloodshot from anger"), cf. izma'arra. Intercalation is, as is well known, one of the ways in which Arabic trilateral roots are augmented.⁹ But in the above cases the explanation which commends itself

⁸ Note also the examples of Heb. šabīb/Ar. šabba and Heb. šūqā/Ar. šū(w)qa, which bear investigation in this connection. For this Zischlautverschiebung in general, see also S. Moscati, *Il sistema consonantico delle lingue semitiche* (Rome, 1954), pp. 52-55; and J. Cantineau, *Cours de phonétique arabe* (Paris, 1960), pp. 62-64.

⁹ See, e.g., M. Kamil, "Zur Bildung der vierradi-

kaligen Verben in den lebenden semitischen Sprachen," *Studi orientalistici in onore di Giorgio Levi della Vida*, I (Rome, 1956), 459-83, esp. 461 ff. For infixed hamza and ^c in particular, see J. J. Hess, "Über das präfigierte und infigierte Ć im Arabischen," *Zeitschrift für Semitistik und verwandte Gebiete*, II (1923), 219-23; and E. Littmann, "Ain und die emphatische Laute," *ibid.*, II (1924), 274-75.

is that an original XIth (*if^calla*) form of trilaterals has shifted to a IVth (*if^calalla*) form of quadrilaterals by the process *-ā > -a^ca-* (e.g. *ismādda > isma^cadda*, **išmāzza > išma^cazza*). This was apparently first noticed by S. Fränkel, *Beiträge zur Erklärung der mehrlautigen Bildungen im Arabischen* (Leiden, 1878), p. 33, where the reason given for the shift is "die Schwierigkeit . . . nach einem langen Vocale einen Doppelconsonanten zu sprechen." Among others who have noted this phenomenon are T. Nöldeke, *Zur Grammatik des klassischen Arabisch* (Darmstadt, 1963—photomechanic reprint of Vienna, 1897 ed.), p. 8, para. 5, who cites as examples *ša^cabba* for *šābba* (from Ibn Ya^ciš, p. 1326, quoting Abū Zayd) and the Qur^ān reading *ad-ḡa^callin* for *ad-ḡāllin*; Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, I, 63 (citing Nöldeke); H. Fleisch, "Études de phonétique arabe," *Mélanges de l'Université Saint Joseph*, XXVIII (1949-1950), 250-251 (citing Nöldeke); and C. Rabin, *Ancient West-Arabian*, p. 202, who informs us that the substitution of *da^cabba* for *dābba* and *ša^cabba* for *šābba* was a feature of the Quda^ca dialect of Kalb (citing Abū Zayd, in *Lisān*, I, 14 and Ibn Ya^ciš, p. 1326 [see also H. Kofler, "Reste altarabischer Dialekte," *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, XLVII (1940), 99]). Rabin points out that "the hamza sign there does not necessarily represent a glottal stop, but may be an indication of a two-peak syllable which arose through the difficulty of pronouncing a long vowel in a closed syllable." Examples of this shift, especially for the case in consideration (*if^calla > if^calalla*), are also given by H. S. Nyberg, "Zur Entwicklung der mehr als dreikonsonantischen Stämme," *Westöstliche Abhandlungen (Rudolf Tschudi, zum siebzigsten Geburtstag)*, (ed. F. Meier; Wiesbaden, 1954), 130.¹⁰ The occurrence of ^c in *iqša^carra* and in *ibḡa^carra* has been explained by Fränkel, Nöldeke, and Nyberg as due to the proximity of the *r* (but note the exception in *izba^carra*, "to bristle up, shudder," for example). The passage of hamza to ^c is amply documented for Arabic dialects by, i.a., M. Bravmann, *Materialien und Untersuchungen zu den phonetischen Lehren der Araber* (Göttingen, 1934), p. 40; Rabin, *Ancient West-Arabian*, pp. 86, 92, 127, and 131; and J. Cantineau, *Cours*, p. 77. (The presence of other laryngals in this position is probably due to the further passage of ^c to ḡ, to *h* [or ^c > *h*], and, perhaps, to *ḥ* and *ḫ*.)¹¹ Thus, for *iqša^carra*, the development will have been: **iqšārra > *iqša^carra > iqša^carra* (**-ā > *-a^ca- > -a^ca-*). If *iqša^carra* falls into this pattern, as it in all likelihood does, it may well have been ultimately derived from *q-š-r* (*qišr*, "rind, bark, husk, skin"). This was already proposed by Fränkel, *Beiträge*, p. 31. A. K. Frayha has suggested, however, an augment of the *q* (< *ša^cr*?), though he admitted other possibilities.¹² (A *q* augment in the case of *iqša^carra* was already suggested by G. H. A. Ewald, who, however, analyzed *ibḡa^carra* [< *baḡara*] correctly.)¹³ Fränkel's derivation, if correct, allows us to posit the original consonantal sequence, *q-š-(^c)-r*.¹⁴

¹⁰ But cf. Cantineau, *Cours*, p. 94, where he indicates that long vowels may be maintained before geminated consonants, citing as examples (apparently from Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, I, 63) *dābba*, *wa-lā ḡāllin*, and the XIth form (*išfārra*), which we see, however, to be unstable in certain instances.

¹¹ For examples, see Kofler, "Reste," pp. 110 ff.; Rabin, *Ancient West-Arabian*, pp. 84-87; and Fleisch, art. "ghayn," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2d ed., II, fasc. 39, p. 1026b.

¹² See his *Quadrilaterals from the Dialect of Ras-Matn (Lebanon)*, (Chicago, 1938), p. 25 (see also p. 22, where *ibḡa^carra* is explained by an augment of the *b*);

and see *idem*, *A Dictionary of Non-classical Vocables in the Spoken Arabic of Lebanon* (Beirut, 1947—"Publications of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences of the American University of Beirut," No. 19), p. 141a.

¹³ *Grammatica critica lingua arabicae*, I (Leipzig, 1831), 110, para. 191.

¹⁴ Cf. W. Leslau, *Lexique Sogotri* (Paris, 1938), pp. 18-19 and 389, where the author compares *qašer* ("panier, outre") with Mehri *qasayr*, regarding the ^c as intercalated under the influence of the *q*. Note that he rejects M. Bittner's comparison of *qašer* with Arabic *iqša^carra* apparently because of the

In view of these observations, it may be concluded that $\text{š}^{\text{e}}\text{qa}^{\text{c}}\text{r}^{\text{r}}\text{ūrōt}$ is a loan-word from Arabic. One cannot reasonably assume a similar morphological and phonetic development leading to such a form in Hebrew. Assuming the correctness of this proposal, we may further theorize that it is a loan from a dialect of ancient West-Arabian. First, we may note the provenience of the first two usages cited in the *Lisān* from the dialect (*huḡa*) of *ahl al-ḥawf* (leg. *al-jawf*?) *min al-Yamān* (and see Ibn Durayd, III, p. 382, 2, 25). Also, a word apparently related to Arabic *q-š-ʿ-r* occurs in South Arabian (see note 14). And note Ethiopic (Geez) *asqōrārā*, "abhor, abominate, detest" (which A. Dillmann derives, however, from *q-r-r* with the obsolete prefix *as-*).¹⁵ Since ancient West-Arabian was a link between SW Semitic and NW Semitic (see Rabin, p. 2), it would appear to have been the channel whereby the word passed into Hebrew. The other obvious possibility is South-Arabian from which loans are, of course, attested in Biblical Hebrew (see e.g., Rabin, pp. 26–28). Moreover, it may be said that the linguistic development which led to forms like *iqša'arra* had already taken place by the time of the formulation of the Priestly Code, that is, most probably, in pre-Exilic times.¹⁶

inappropriateness of the usual given meaning ("shiver," etc.), and prefers instead an explanation on the basis of Ar. *qīšr*. But on the strength of the probable derivation of *iqša'arra* from *qīšr*, Bittner's view gains in plausibility.

¹⁵ See his *Lexicon linguae aethiopicae* (Leipzig, 1865), col. 353, *s.v.*; and A. Dillmann–C. Bezold, *Ethiopic Grammar*, tr. J. A. Crichton (London, 1907),

p. 163, para. 85. (Accadian *i/ešqarrurtu*, *The Assyrian Dictionary*, ed. I. J. Gelb et al., VII [Chicago, 1960], p. 259b and W. von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*, I [Wiesbaden, 1965], 397b, appears to be unrelated to our word.)

¹⁶ The date proposed by Y. Kaufmann; see *The Religion of Israel*, tr. and abridged by M. Greenberg (Chicago, 1960), p. 205.

WIEDERUM DIE ÄGYPTISCHEN "MAKE MERRY" LIEDER

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DIE Frage, ob die zum Lebensgenuß auffordernden Lieder des Neuen Reiches, besonders der Ramessidenzeit, rein funerären Charakters sind oder ob es sich dabei um Lieder handelt, die auch bei weltlichen Festen gesungen wurden, hat E. F. Wente in dieser Zeitschrift zuletzt behandelt¹. Er konnte dabei ein bis dahin nicht beachtetes Lied in vier leicht voneinander abweichenden Fassungen neu publizieren und kam auf Grund dieses neuen Materials auch zu einer neuen Deutung des bekannten: Diese Lieder zur Harfe oder Laute hatten ihren eigentlichen Platz bei weltlichen Festen und Gelagen.

Sein Ergebnis ist überzeugend und läßt sich durch eine etwas abweichende Übersetzung und eine neue Gesamtauffassung jener Varianten des neuen Liedes, die Einleitung bzw. Schluß mehr oder weniger vollständig erhalten haben, noch besser erhärten.

Die ersten beiden Sätze des eigentlichen Liedes in den Gräbern 194 und 364 lauten nach Wente: "I have cheered you since you were upon earth, while you have had your strength". Den zweiten Satz kommentiert er: "By this is meant that the singer has sung for Dhutemhab since the time he came into existence upon earth"². So genau die Übersetzung trifft, so überraschend ist der Kommentar. Der Umstandssatz *iw phtjk wn* heißt doch offenbar: "solange deine Kraft gedauert hat". Zusammen mit dem ersten Satz ergeben sich zwei Aussagen, die das Leben von seinem Beginn bis zu seinem Ende umspannen—wobei der Ausdruck "solange deine Kraft gedauert hat" das Ende verschleiert. Offenbar ist also der Grabherr jetzt, wo der Sänger anstimmt, tot. Das folgende Lied aber paßt, wie Wente richtig gesehen hat, nur zu einem Fest unter Lebenden, nicht zu einem Totenfest. Es ist dies eben das Lied, das der Sänger immer wieder bei Feiern während der Lebzeit des Herrn gesungen hat. Es beginnt sinnvoll mit der Aufforderung: "Hör nicht auf, deinen Wunsch zu erfüllen" und endet, nachdem es das Los der Toten geschildert hat, mit der Kontrastfeststellung, daß man dann, als Toter, nur noch sagen kann "Hätte ich doch!"—womit eben wieder zum ungehemmten Genuß des Tages aufgefordert wird. An dies oft gehörte und wohl allgemein bekannte Lied erinnert der Sänger jetzt. Er trägt es, eingerahmt durch die eben gehörte Einleitung, daß er es oft vorgesungen habe, und durch eine Schlußbemerkung, die wir gleich betrachten werden, bei der Totenfeierlichkeit vor.

Dieser Schluß lautet in den beiden Gräbern, die uns die Einleitung bewahrt haben, sowie in Nr. 158, Tjanefer, in dem diese Einleitung vorhanden war, aber jetzt zerstört ist, also in dreifacher Überlieferung: "Du hast auf die Worte gehört, wenn ich dir erzählte, was ich gesehen habe"³. Gesehen, d.h. erlebt, hat der Sänger eben das Los der Toten, daß sie nicht wiederkehren, daß man sie vergißt, daß es nach dem Tode zu spät ist, das Leben zu genießen. Das, so berichtet er, habe er zu Lebzeiten des Herrn ihm vorgesungen, und dieser habe entsprechend gehandelt.

¹ Bd. XXI, S. 118–128; die dort zitierte ältere Literatur sei hier nicht wiederholt.

² S. 122, note c.

³ Möglich wäre auch: "die dir erzählten, was ich gesehen habe".

Aber nun, nachdem der Tod diesem allem ein Ende bereitet hat, nachdem er nun zum letzten Mal das Lied hat erklingen lassen, ist auch für ihn ein Abschluß gekommen. Der folgende kurze Satz findet sich nur in den beiden Gräbern 194 und 158, er fehlt in 364: "Trenne dich (jetzt) von ihm, mein Herz, in seiner Müdigkeit"⁴. Jetzt also wird ihm der Sänger nicht mehr singen, er überläßt ihn seinem Todesgeschick. Es ist ein Abschiedsgesang, bei dem noch einmal das im Leben oft gehörte Lied erklingen ist. Damit endet der Text in Grab 158, während Grab 194 noch einen kurzen Vers zufügt: "Ich habe meinen Refrain beendet". Wir fragen uns, welcher Refrain gemeint ist—wir können an dem Lied keinen erkennen. Es fragt sich, ob nicht *mꜣwt* hier in einem nicht-technischen Sinne wörtlich zu übersetzen ist als "die Wiederholung", eigentlich "das Erneuerte". In diesem Fall schließt das Lied mit der Versicherung des Sängers, er werde nun dies Trinklied, das so oft im Leben des Herrn erklingen ist, nie mehr singen, so wie nach verbreiteter Sitte das Weinglas, aus dem ein verehrter Mann getrunken hat, zerstört wird⁵.

⁴ Ebenso gut ist, bei gleichem Gesamtsinn, möglich: "Mein Herz trennt sich jetzt von ihm in seiner Müdigkeit", doch betont ein Imperativ mit seinem Wechsel in der Anrede stärker, daß sich jetzt der Sänger von dem im Lied und auch noch im ersten Satz des Rahmenschlusses angesprochenen Grabherra abwendet.

⁵ Bei Amenemhab, Nr. 364, ist der Text so unsicher, daß ich eine Übersetzung nicht wage. Wentes Vorschlag "My heart is moribund because of it" ist möglich und würde gut zu unserer Deutung passen.

THE IDENTITY OF THE PRIESTLY TABERNACLE

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THE identity of the sanctuary described in the Priestly Tabernacle narratives (Exodus, chapters 25–31 and 35–40) has proved to be a complex problem for modern biblical scholarship. It purports to be Moses' Tabernacle in the wilderness, but it has long been recognized that the Tabernacle as described is much too cumbersome and elaborate in the nomadic setting. Wellhausen was content to explain the Priestly Tabernacle as a projection of the Temple in desert dress.¹ While it is true that many scholars are greatly influenced along the lines of Wellhausen's general position, there has been an increasing interest in discovering an actual historical tent-sanctuary behind the elaborated Priestly narratives.

Archeological data afforded by Arab tent-shrines reveal striking parallels with the Tabernacle and Ark and suggest the probability of an ancient Tabernacle institution among the Hebrews of pre-monarchical times.² The important role of the central sanctuary and the Ark in the Amphictyonic Period has been demonstrated quite conclusively.³ Rather than a cultless, spontaneous, free type of religious life in this early period, as Wellhausen believed, there is ample evidence of a rich cultic religion enhanced by a discriminate borrowing of Canaanite forms of worship.⁴ Moreover, modern scholarship has moved beyond an almost total skepticism regarding the historical worth of Priestly material to a recognition that, while Priestly material cannot be handled uncritically, it can no longer be dismissed as "pious fraud."⁵

The possibility and probability of an ancient tent-shrine in the background of the Priestly Tabernacle narratives is apparent. The problem is: which historical tent-sanctuary lies behind the Priestly narratives? Two tent-sanctuaries in particular are deemed worthy candidates for the solution to the problem: (1) David's Tent of Yahweh, and (2) the Shiloh sanctuary.

Frank M. Cross, Jr.⁶ reacted to Wellhausen's Tabernacle hypothesis in view of an abundance of new scholarship which seriously questioned the validity of Wellhausen's evolutionary view of religion as applied to ancient Israel. Although biblical references to David's Tent of Yahweh are rather scarce, he argued that the Priestly Tabernacle fits in well with what is known of it. Certain desert elements that survived in the tradition and Canaanite elements that were incorporated into the Priestly Tabernacle are suggestive of this hypothesis. Moreover, one might expect David's Tent of Yahweh to be ornately fabricated as described in the Priestly Tabernacle narratives. He has argued persuasively that David's Tent of Yahweh is the best solution to the problem.

¹ Julius Wellhausen, *Prolegomena to the History of Ancient Israel*, pp. 34 ff.

² The reader will find an excellent, concise summary of this material in Frank M. Cross, Jr., "The Priestly Tabernacle," *BA*, X:3 (1947), 45–68; reprinted, G. Ernest Wright and David N. Freedman (eds.), *The Biblical Archaeologist Reader*, pp. 201–28; see also Roland de Vaux, *Les Institutions de l'Ancien Testament*, II, 125–26.

³ A. Alt, "Die Staatenbildung der Israeliten in Palästina," *KS*, II, 1–65; M. Noth, *Das System der zwölf Stämme Israels*; *idem*, *The History of Israel*, pp. 85–108; W. F. Albright, *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel*⁴, pp. 102–107.

⁴ See John Bright, *A History of Israel*, pp. 148–49.

⁵ Cross, *op. cit.*, pp. 209–12, 216–17.

⁶ See n. 2.

More recently Menaḥem Haran has argued in favor of the Shiloh sanctuary.⁷ A major obstacle standing in the way of this identification is a number of Deuteronomic references to the Shiloh sanctuary as a temple structure.⁸ Haran is obliged to call attention to the fact that the Shiloh sanctuary is also referred to as a tent in the Deuteronomic sources and to explain the temple terminology as anachronism (over against the general consensus of scholarship) to establish the possibility that the Shiloh sanctuary was actually a tent. With this possibility in view, he argues that the Shiloh shrine-tradition was transferred directly to Jerusalem during the era of the Solomonic Temple and there was blurred by Jerusalemite Temple elements which were unconsciously superimposed on the tradition.

Haran's argument is based largely on I Kings 8:4 with the conviction that it shows "the latest traces of priestly penmanship."⁹ His remarks seem to suggest that he believes the Priestly writer inserted into this text "the tent of meeting and all the holy vessels which were in the tent" with the understanding that "the tent" is none other than the Shiloh sanctuary. Therefore, Haran discovers a Priestly link between the Shiloh (tent) sanctuary and the Priestly Tabernacle.¹⁰

The present writer doubts if the notation of "the tent of meeting and all the holy vessels which were in the tent" should be readily assigned to P, for it might very well be part of the pre-Deuteronomic tradition.¹¹ But even if it should be granted that the Priestly writer added this notation, he surely would have been aware that the Ark was in "the city of David, which is Zion" (I Kings 8:1) and that it was undoubtedly in David's Tent of Yahweh there. In a word, the context indicates rather clearly that "the tent of meeting" and "the tent" in I Kings 8:4 refer to David's Tent of Yahweh. In order for Haran's argument to be intelligible, it would be necessary to suggest that when the Priestly writer edited I Kings 8:4 he was ignorant regarding the union of the Ark and tent in David's Tent of Yahweh, or to posit that the Priestly material (including this notation) was originally a separate document which was later incorporated into the developing Old Testament text. Neither of these possibilities commend themselves. Haran refers to I Kings 8:4 as a "slender thread in P's chronicle by which to connect the tent of meeting at Shiloh with Jerusalem."¹² In this writer's judgment, Haran has built his argument on a slender thread indeed!

If it is to be maintained that an actual historical tent-sanctuary does lie behind the Priestly Tabernacle narratives, the candidacy of the Shiloh sanctuary is not necessarily ruled out. It might be argued that the combination of desert and Canaanite elements in the Priestly Tabernacle would apply at Shiloh as well as Jerusalem, and the ornate fabrication might better be a projection from the Solomonic Temple. Nonetheless, the

⁷ "Shiloh and Jerusalem: the Origin of the Priestly Tradition in the Pentateuch," *JBL*, LXXXI:1 (1962), 14-24.

⁸ Judg. 18:31; I Sam. 1:7, 9, 24; 3:3, 15.

⁹ Haran, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

¹⁰ Haran believes the fact that the site of the tent is not specifically mentioned in I Kings 8:4 points to his conclusion. Actually, the argument can go the other direction; namely, that it was unnecessary to identify the site of the tent, for where the Ark was (I Kings 8:1) there was the tent also. If the Priestly editor added this phrase under the illusion that the tent was still at Shiloh, one might better suppose that he would have indicated Shiloh at this point. He at-

tempts to buttress his argument by emphasizing that Jerusalem is not even mentioned in the Priestly Tabernacle tradition. Of course, Shiloh is not mentioned either! But should one expect to find either of the cities mentioned? Actually, this is no argument at all.

¹¹ The term *ʾōhel mōʿēd* is used by P, but it is also characteristic of J/JE. It is not to be attributed to the Deuteronomic historian, however. The phrase "all the holy vessels which were in the tent" seems to suggest a priestly touch, but this is quite inconclusive. At all events, the *ʾōhel mōʿēd* reference rather clearly indicates David's Tent of Yahweh.

¹² *Op. cit.*, p. 21.

Shiloh sanctuary somewhat lacks the qualifications of David's Tent of Yahweh. David's Tent of Yahweh was assuredly a tent; this cannot be said for the Shiloh sanctuary. In all probability the *'ōhel mō'ēd* terminology and "meeting" theology, which are preserved in the Priestly narratives,¹³ were derived from the Shiloh tradition. There is no reason to doubt that the J/JE tent tradition was transmitted to Jerusalem through Shiloh. Yet it seems more likely that the Jerusalem priesthood would remember the plan of the tent-sanctuary in Jerusalem, the culmination of the Tabernacle tradition in Israel. David's Tent of Yahweh is considered preferable to the Shiloh sanctuary as the solution to the problem afforded by the Priestly Tabernacle narratives.

¹³ G. von Rad (*Studies in Deuteronomy*, p. 40) is undoubtedly correct in suggesting that the "meeting"

theology is not a new creation by Priestly writers, but is a re-introduction of an old sacred tradition.

BOOK REVIEWS

Ägyptische Eheverträge. By ERICH LÜDDECKENS. "Ägyptologische Abhandlungen," Band I. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1960. Pp. 372 + 8 pls. + 12 synoptic tables.

Professor Lüddeckens, recently of Mainz and now of Würzburg, has in this voluminous study taken a type of ancient Egyptian document as his domain, collected all the examples known to him, and studied them in the greatest detail. His study is primarily a paleographic and philological one in that he did not set himself the task of pursuing all the social, legal, and economic implications of his texts. However, in trying to elicit the meaning of the legal phraseology, he has necessarily stated or pointed to a good many such implications. That task, properly speaking, is the burden of a book which appeared so nearly simultaneously with Lüddeckens' book that the author was barely able to make use of the latter. This study is P. W. Pestman, *Marriage and Matrimonial Property in Ancient Egypt* (Leiden, 1961). The two books complement each other admirably and are both based on very careful scholarship. They climax a series of partial studies of ancient Egyptian marriage going back to 1918 by Möller, Junker, Edgerton, Mustafa El-Amir, Erichsen, and Nims. No other ancient Egyptian institution has received such repeated treatment and, now with Lüddeckens' and Pestman's books, such thorough treatment.

Since our immediate task is to review Lüddeckens' work we shall confine ourselves to it on its own premises, and those premises are ample. Piecemeal publication of individual demotic contracts or accidental collections of them is not the best way to further our knowledge or understanding of the contracts or the institutions involved. Publication of a group of documents related in time and place, dealing with one family's affairs or with the same property over a

period of time, is obviously of inestimable value, but such archives are unfortunately not numerous. The one basic and now unavoidable procedure is that exemplified by Lüddeckens' study of the marriage documents: The gathering of all known documents relating to the institution, studying every word, phrase and clause, and noting all significant variations. This does not mean that all the problems are solved and that, in this case, the institution of marriage is perfectly understood, but there are not likely to be many surprises at least in any marriage documents yet to be published.

Lüddeckens studies seventy documents dealing with sixty-five different marriages (ten of them relate in pairs to five marriages) ranging from ca. 879 B.C. to A.D. 21. He apparently did not concern himself greatly with searching out unpublished documents of which there must be a considerable number in the world's collections of demotic papyri, for he publishes for the first time only four documents relating to three separate marriages. Three new documents have been published since the appearance of his book and the reviewer has in hand three more from Hawara, but the existence of at least some of them was not known to anyone when his book appeared. Even so, they can now be profitably published piecemeal and readily treated against Lüddeckens' formulas, concordance tables, and detailed commentaries.

The volume begins with an introduction which in six pages summarizes what little can be deduced indirectly about Egyptian marriage prior to the beginning of his series of documents. As a matter of fact, even then two centuries elapse between the earliest one in the series and the next, about eighty-seven years between the second and third, and nearly half a century between the third and fourth. These four are written in the so-called "abnormal hieratic" script; thereafter

those in demotic and the style of document associated with it occur at more reasonably frequent intervals. Nevertheless, omitting the latest one in A.D. 21, which is some eighty years later than the next latest datable one, the remaining sixty-five documents are interspersed over 475 years. This does not amount to heavy documentation for an institution like marriage. The average is one document per 7.3 years or 13.7 documents per century and they document only one marriage per 7.9 years or 12.7 marriages per century. Even if we allow for the unlikely possibility that another sixty-five documents exist in museums and collections for the same period, the documentation would still not be heavy. When it is recalled that a mother's or grandmother's marriage document was often carefully kept among a family's papers as proof of rightful ownership of inherited property, the picture would seem still more surprising.

However, Lüddeckens and Pestman show clearly to my mind, supporting the earlier contention of Junker and Edgerton, that the demotic marriage documents established only the wife's property and maintenance rights during marriage and in case of divorce and the inheritance rights of her children but were unnecessary for establishing the validity of the union itself. It is obvious, then, that where there was little if any property there was no need for a "contract," and such cases must have been overwhelmingly in the majority. Established custom and law would have safeguarded minimal rights among the many poor. Inter-family squabbles there must have been aplenty, in case of separation, over what little the bride had brought to her husband's family's house, but the squabbles would scarcely have reached the courts. Inheritance, even of the minuscule portions witnessed to by some extant demotic documents, must have been a matter outside the world of the majority of brides and grooms.

The heart of Lüddeckens' study is that (Sec. I) devoted to the transliteration and translation of all the documents followed by detailed notes thereon. Scarcely any paleo-

graphic or philological problem escapes his attention whether he is able to solve it or not, and he takes little for granted. The following section (II) setting forth what can be deduced from the documents about the man, the woman, and the inditing scribe is the least productive part of the study owing to the paucity of the data provided in the documents. Exceedingly useful, however, is the long section (III) discussing every clause found in any marriage document, the variations upon it, and its meaning. The brief section (IV) on "sprachliche Beobachtungen" deals with grammatical and lexicographical variations over the centuries and from region to region. The last section (V) groups the documents according to presence or absence and arrangements of all possible clauses and stipulations. This grouping into fourteen (actually sixteen) different "formulae" has the virtue of showing that the variations from group to group are determined largely by place of origin rather than by changes in law or custom over the centuries. This is a useful demonstration in itself and the formulas comprise a useful tool for dealing with marriage documents to be published in the future. Supplementary to this section and useful for the same purpose are the twelve large sheets bearing synoptic tables which show in transliteration all the variations in the manner in which the stipulations were cast and used.

Professor Lüddeckens' performance itself is to be commended most highly, and the example set by it to be emulated in the study of other documents and institutions.

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Fāṭimid Decrees. Original Documents from the Fāṭimid Chancery. By S. M. STERN. London: Faber and Faber, 1964. Pp. 188 + 48 pls. 63s.

Interest in Islamic chancery documents and diplomatic practice has markedly grown in recent years, and a number of studies has added to our knowledge in this field. Con-

cerning the Fāṭimids a first volume of twenty-three documents gleaned from literary sources has been published by Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl in his *Majmūʿat al-Wathāʾiq al-Fāṭimiyya* I (Cairo, 1958). The collection of letters of the Fāṭimid al-Mustanṣir to the Yemen preserved by Ismāʿīlī literature has been published by ʿAbd al-Munʿim Mājid (*al-Sijillāt al-Mustanṣiriyya* [Cairo 1954]). In the present book S. M. Stern has assembled ten decrees of Fāṭimid caliphs or their viziers which have been wholly or partially preserved in the original.

Eight of the decrees were granted to the monastery of St. Catherine in Sinai, five of them are published here for the first time. One was issued to the Coptic monks in Egypt and has been published previously by A. Grohmann and P. Labib. Another one was issued to the Karaite Jewish community and was published first by R. J. Gottheil. These are all the decrees of the Fāṭimid time which are definitely known to be extant at present.

In the first part Stern edits and translates the decrees and fully discusses the historical circumstances under which they were issued and their significance. His readings of the not always easily decipherable documents and his translation are excellent. Their superiority is evident in the cases where the documents have been published previously. (Printer's errors are p. 17, l. 7, *amahdiyyin* for *al-mahdiyyin*; p. 49, l. 3, *li-tawāʾib* for *li-nawāʾib*. In the translation p. 19, l. 1, add *in all regions* (*fī sār al-nawāʾih*) after and *working-beasts*). In the commentary the historical information contained in the documents is put into its proper perspective, adducing all relevant material. The immediate historical value of the decrees is mostly confined to questions concerning the institution or community to which they were granted. One of them, however, because of the date on which it was issued, sheds light on the events following the assassination of the Fāṭimid caliph al-Āmir leading to the succession of the caliph's cousin ʿAbd al-Majīd al-Ḥāfiẓ (cf. p. 42 ff.).

The second part of the book is a diplomatic commentary in which the formal side of the documents and the Fāṭimid administrative and diplomatic practice as reflected in them are thoroughly examined. Particularly valuable is the chapter on the signature (*ʿalāma*), by which the ruler or responsible official validated the documents. Here not only the Fāṭimid method is studied, but the development of the practice in the whole Islamic world is sketched for the first time. Of some interest for the Fāṭimid practice is perhaps a report in Ibn ʿIdhārī¹) showing that the secretary (*kātib*), probably head of the chancery, of the Zīrid Yaḥyā b. Tamīm apparently was authorized to affix the motto of his ruler: *al-ḥamdu li'llāhi waḥdah*. As the Zīrids probably copied the Fāṭimid practice, it may be inferred that the case of the Fāṭimid al-Ḥākim authorizing the head of his chancery to sign on his behalf (cf. p. 128) was not completely unusual.

Four of the documents are fully, three partially, reproduced by the plates.

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The Coinage of the Mamlūk Sultans of Egypt and Syria. By PAUL BALOG. "Numismatic Studies," No. 12. New York: The American Numismatic Society, 1964. Pp. 444 + xlv pls.

Literature on Mamlūk numismatics is widely dispersed and much of it is of difficult access. Islamists, therefore, will highly appreciate the publication of this comprehensive catalogue and study of Mamlūk coinage, which may supersede most of the previous literature and serve as a reference work for further classification and research.

Balog's book, however, offers more than a synthesis of earlier research in Mamlūk numismatics. As the author points out, a great number of coins have been newly discovered during recent decades and remained

¹ *Al-bayān al-mughrib*, ed. Lévi-Provençal and Colin, I, 306, cf. R. H. Idris, *La Berbérie Orientale sous les Zirides*, pp. 316, 526.

unpublished. Indeed, information on some quite recent finds could only be added in two supplements to the catalogue. Quite a few of these coins are now in the possession of the author, who, because of his long interest in Mamlūk coins, obviously was in a favored position to undertake the publication and classification of this new material. He thus was able to make significant additions to the series of issues of most rulers found in earlier catalogues and, in some cases, to present coins of rulers of whom none had previously been known. Moreover, it became possible to attribute most undated coins with insufficient designation to the ruler issuing them either by comparison with similar, definitely attributable types or if some were found in hordes with a definite time range. The number of Mamlūk coins of uncertain attribution thus has shrunk to an insignificant proportion. In view of the comprehensiveness of the catalogue, it is only to be regretted that the collections of the Berlin Museum and the Museum of Islamic Art in Cairo could not be included.

In the introductory chapters the author after a brief summary of Mamlūk history, not quite reliable in detail, offers a general descriptive survey of the coins, their types, legends, epigraphy, ornaments, and heraldry. In the remarks on ornaments (p. 18), it may be noted that besides the *shadda* the *muhmal* sign (˘) originally was not a true ornament. Its placing on many of the coins indicates that the designers were quite aware of its original purpose, although they used it mostly ornamentally and at times developed its form for decorative purposes beyond immediate recognition.

Most interesting, however, is the author's contribution to the history of Muslim heraldry. While not questioning L. A. Mayer's findings in his fundamental work on *Saracenic Heraldry* that already the Ayyūbids used true blazons, Balog rejects his assertion that the fleur-de-lis appears on Ayyūbid coins: One of the coins mentioned by Mayer as evidence is, according to the author, Mamlūk, and the supposed fleur-de-lis on other Ayyūbid coins are rather "tiny

flowerets of ornamental character." Heraldic devices, therefore, appeared on Islamic coins for the first time under the Mamlūks, and their practice was imitated by the Rasūlids in the Yemen. To Mayer's list of blazons of Mamlūk sultans, Balog adds several more from the evidence of the coins. Mayer's assumption that the blazon was hereditary is confirmed by the new material. Usually only a single heraldic charge is represented on each coin, while different coins of the same ruler show a variety of charges. The author assumes that all the simple charges represented on the diverse issues of one and the same ruler are parts of his composite blazon. This leaves the question how these composite blazons looked: There is very little comparative material from other sources, and some of it seems to contradict the evidence of the coins. Here the author suggests that the evidence of the coins should be accepted as reliable.

In a chapter on metrology the author discusses the complicated development of the standards of Mamlūk gold, silver, and copper coins and their exchange value. He makes, however, little use of the rich literary sources, except in some notes on W. Popper's chapter on currency in his *Egypt and Syria under the Circassian Sultans*. There are further short chapters on mints and minting technique and a bibliography.

The major part of the book is a chronologically arranged catalogue of all known Mamlūk coin types. Only one of identical coins is described fully, and references to all others and minor variants are then listed. Over 810 photographs illustrate the issues. There are indexes of mints, years, and names.

A number of misreadings should be corrected. Balog reads the name Baybars (pp. 86 ff., 135 ff.) regularly without the *yāʾ* between the two *bāʾ*'s which it should have according to the rules of Arabic orthography. Yet the *yāʾ* is doubtless signified by the second rise in the script as is confirmed on several coins by the two dots under it. It is rather the third letter, *bāʾ*, which, as generally in this script, is contracted with the following *rāʾ* without an upward stroke,

such that it nearly disappears. The graphic form of the word *amīr* may be compared (coin No. 34 and others), where the *ya*³ is even less apparent before the following *rā*². On the coins of al-Ashraf Shaʿbān and his sons al-Manṣūr ʿAlī and al-Ṣāliḥ Ḥājji, Shaʿbān b. Ḥusayn is to be read regularly instead of Shaʿban b. Ḥasan. Al-Ashraf Shaʿbān is generally known as the son of Ḥusayn b. al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, and the *yā*² appears clearly on the photographs of his coins. The *kunya* of al-ʿAzīz Yūsuf is Abū l-Maḥāsin, not Abū l-Maḥāsīn. On his coins the name distinctly should be read without *yā*². Pp. 345, 386: Al-Zāhir Sayf al-dīn's name is Yalbāy, not Bilbāy. Coin No. 848 *rahmat Allāh* read: *rahimahū Allāh*.

The aspect which usually most attracts the attention of the historically minded student in Islamic numismatics is the royal protocol. The series of Mamlūk coins impressively reflects the gradual rise of the Mamlūks to independent sovereignty first from their Ayyūbid lords and then from the ʿAbbāsid caliphate. The Mamlūks after assassinating the Ayyūbid Tūrānshāh in May 1250 chose Shajarat al-durr, the widow of the former Ayyūbid sultan al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ, as ruler and the Mamlūk Aybak as army commander. Naturally only Shajarat al-durr now was named on the coins. Under pressure of the Ayyūbid prince of Aleppo, who incited public opinion against the rule of a woman and threatened to attack Egypt, the Mamlūks three months later asked her to resign and elected Aybak sultan. But only five days later a group of them refused to recognize him and demanded the nomination of an Ayyūbid prince. Mūsā, the ten-year-old son of the Ayyūbid ruler of the Yemen, was proclaimed as al-Malik al-Ashraf, and his name alone appears on the coins during the following years. In 1254, after peace had been concluded with the Ayyūbid of Aleppo, Aybak suppressed the Mamlūk group which had forced al-Ashraf Mūsā upon him and deposed the young sultan. (The dates for the end of the reign of al-Ashraf Mūsā on p. 73 should be corrected.) From that year on Aybak is mentioned on the coins but without

any title and only after the name and the full protocol of the Ayyūbid al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ. This was clearly a concession to Shajarat al-durr, who became the wife of Aybak and retained a strong hand in the rule, and the sentimental attachment of many of the Mamlūks of the Ayyūbid for their former master. It was only after the murder of Aybak at the instigation of Shajarat al-durr and her consequent disgrace and assassination in 1257 that Aybak's son al-Manṣūr ʿAlī could drop the name of the Ayyūbid from his coinage and substitute his own name with the full royal titles. In protocol, though not in fact, the Ayyūbid dynasty was replaced only then.

The Mamlūks soon were also to eclipse their other overlords, the ʿAbbāsid caliphs. The caliph's name together with the title Imam and Commander of the Faithful is regularly found on the reverse of Mamlūk coins, as previously on the Ayyūbid issues, right up to the Mongol conquest of Baghdad and the execution of the ʿAbbāsid caliph in 1256. From the following year on, the coins show the profession of faith instead. Only in 1261 the name of the ʿAbbāsid caliph newly established in Cairo by Baybars appears again on some coins with the same protocol as his predecessors in Baghdad. On the other hand, Baybars had the new caliph confer the title Sultan upon him, and inscribed it on some of his coins, setting a precedent for all later Mamlūk rulers. The Ayyūbids and the earlier Mamlūks, although claiming the title for themselves, had rarely used it on their coins. More serious for the relative position of caliph and sultan was the other title which Baybars adopted in his protocol: Partner of the Commander of the Faithful (*qasīm amīr al-muʾminīn*). The Mamlūk no longer considered the caliph as his overlord, but put himself on the same level with him. It was an unequal partnership from the beginning. Baybars retained the confession of the faith, as a legend in place of the caliph's name on many of his coins, and already his son and successor Baraka Qān dropped the mention of the caliph completely. Yet he and his successors kept the title Partner of the Commander

of the Faithful. Al-Ashraf Khalil (1290–1293) called himself “Supporter of the Muḥammadan Community, Reviver of the ‘Abbāsid Empire (*nāṣir al-milla al-muḥammadiyya muḥyi al-dawla al-abbāsiyya*). His aims of conquest went apparently far beyond the capture of the crusaders’ strongholds, which he accomplished before his assassination in 1293. Yet he hardly hoped to revive the ‘Abbāsid Empire for the profit of the puppet caliph, who is no more mentioned on his coins than on those of his predecessors. Lājīn (1296–1299) then first dropped the title Partner of the Commander of the Faithful, and, after a partial revival under his two successors, this last reference to the caliph completely disappears from the Mamlūk coins. It was obviously no longer considered an honor to be merely a partner of the powerless figurehead of the Muslim community. In 1412 the caliph al-Mustaʿin was elected sultan and held that office for several months before being replaced by the Mamlūk al-Muʿayyad Shaykh. On most of his preserved coins he preferred his caliphal titles: Most Powerful Imam and Commander of the Faithful. On others, however, he is designated as al-Sultān al-Malik. On one coin the two titles appear jointly: al-Sultān al-Malik, Amīr al-Muʾminīn, foreshadowing later Timūrid and Ottoman claims.

There are certainly many other questions, the study of which will be stimulated by the availability of this comprehensive work on Mamlūk coinage. It is to be hoped that more work of this kind will be done for other Muslim dynasties.

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Shechem: The Biography of a Biblical City.

By G. ERNEST WRIGHT. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1965. Pp. xviii + 270. \$7.95.

This work is the full-scale presentation of the results of the excavations of Shechem conducted by the Drew-McCormick Archaeological Expedition at Tell Balāṭah (four campaigns) from 1956 to 1963. The pre-

liminary reports of these campaigns, conducted in cooperation with the American Schools of Oriental Research, have already appeared in the *Bulletin of the American Schools* (BASOR, No. 144 [Dec. 1956], pp. 9–20; No. 148 [Dec. 1957], pp. 11–28; No. 161 [Feb. 1961], pp. 11–54; No. 169 [Feb. 1963], pp. 1–60). A number of less technical studies on the significance of the excavations have also been published by various members of the staff (E. J. Campbell, Jr., L. E. Toombs, James Ross, W. Harrelson, B. W. Anderson, H. C. Kee, *et al.*) in the *Biblical Archaeologist* (see note 1 to chapter 4, pp. 247–48). In addition to these publications, several technical studies relating to archeological technique and methodology, ceramic chronology, and paleography have appeared as a result of the Shechem excavations (*Ibid.*). One chapter of this book (chap. 10, “The Samaritans at Shechem”) is an expansion of an article originally published by Wright in the *Harvard Theological Review*, LV (1962), 357–66. The present work is an assessment of the data supplied by the excavations as they relate to the history of Shechem and the Biblical record concerning that city. The character of the book is indicated by the subtitle; it is the “biography” of a Biblical city—indeed, of one of the most important cities in the history of Palestine and of the experience of the Hebrew people.

The essential materials of this book were put into order for oral delivery in the Spring of 1963 (the Norton Lectures of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, March 5–8, 1963). In its present form, a good deal of the work is obviously more suitable for the printed page than the spoken word; but the original manner of presentation is still evident. The style is neither overly technical nor overly popular, but strikes a balanced median to produce a highly readable and extremely useful account. For this reason the book should prove to be of value in a variety of ways, and it may be appreciated on the number of levels of its appeal. The book can be read by the advanced scholar in Biblical studies and archeology with appreciation, but it can also be handled (howbeit, on a

different level) by the novice in these fields. Those conversant in Palestinian archeology will find that this volume not only supplements the preliminary reports but places the findings in good perspective. In this respect, chaps. 5-7 ("The Fortification of the City," "The Temple of El-berith," and "The Courtyard Temples") will be particularly instructive. Of special value also are the plates (of no less than 113 figures!), with excellent photographs of the dig, detailed sketches and plans of buildings and fortifications, representations of objects and artifacts, and sketches and photographs of exemplary ceramic types. There is also an appendix with detailed studies by a number of members of the staff—e.g., an account of the investigation of water sources of the vicinity by R. J. Bull, a report on the stratification of the temple forecourt by L. E. Toombs, and two pottery studies, one by J. D. Seger on two middle bronze pottery groups, and another by Nancy Lapp on black- and red-figured fragments from Stratum V. On the other hand, those to whom archeology is still an esoteric science or incomprehensible art will be provided with a useful introduction to the subject by such basic things as a chapter on the location of a Biblical site, a section on "Organization and Procedures" (in chap. 4, "The Drew-McCormick Expedition"), a chapter presenting a survey and criticism of earlier excavations of the site (in which it becomes apparent that healthy inter-personal relations are as important in a successful dig as correct procedures and methodology), and an essay by L. E. Toombs (Appendix 1) on "Principles of Field Technique."

The value of this presentation does not only reside in its lucid exposition of the archeological research of a particular Palestinian site; equally important is the contribution it makes to the study of the history of Palestine and to the evaluation of the literary sources (in this case, the writings of the Old Testament) which also cast light upon this history. In this regard, the following dictum of Wright is particularly illuminating: "Archaeology is not an independent or isolated discipline; it is a research arm of

the historian, and the discipline suffers when it is not treated as such" (p. 36). There is a double significance to this statement: As an adjunct to history, archeology provides a basic tool in the reconstruction of a particular segment of the human experience. It is also an external factor in the evaluation of the literary record by which this history has been recorded and interpreted. In a number of his writings, Wright has stressed the importance of archeology in reconstructing the proper context (the cultural environment and the historical situation) against which the Biblical record can be understood and interpreted (see, for example, his severe criticism of the Noth-Alt school's attempts at reconstructing Israel's early history by form-criticism, to the neglect of archeology, in "Archaeology and Old Testament Studies," *JBL*, LXXVII [1958], 39-51). But not only does the study of history suffer from the neglect of archeology; the discipline of archeology itself suffers when it works in isolation from a consideration of history. This is not a matter of reducing one discipline to the role of handmaid to another; it is a matter of providing some meaningful relationship to isolated data which in themselves mean very little.

On the basis of the data supplied by the excavations of Shechem, and working carefully with the literary sources, Wright has succeeded in tracing the history of Shechem from Patriarchal times to the time of its final destruction (by John Hyrcanus) in 107 B.C. The strongest period of settlement was from $\pm 1800-1100$ B.C. The temple of El-berith and the sacred area were destroyed in the late twelfth century, with the Abimelech incident of Judges, chapter 9, providing the background for the destruction of bronze-age Shechem. There is no evidence that the sacred area was ever again used for religious purposes following the Abimelech destruction, but Strata IX B-VII (ca. 900-724 B.C.) indicate an economic development of Israelite Shechem. The city was destroyed by the Assyrians but was reoccupied from the late eighth to the fifth centuries B.C. (Strata VI B-V). A gap in the settlement of the site

occurred from ca. 475–331, with a considerable redevelopment of the city in the Greek period. The resettlement of Shechem was probably by the disenfranchised Yahwists of Samaria (of mixed ethnic descent), who evidently developed the ancient site after their loss of status as a result of their abortive rebellion against the Greeks. (Of this we are aware from Quintius Curtius, patristic sources, and the newly discovered Samaritan papyri.) These “Samaritans at Shechem” eventually succeeded in completely alienating themselves from the main stream of Judaism to create a sectarian movement. Following the destruction of Shechem at Tell Balāṭah, they remained within the shadow of the sacred Mt. Gerizim. Their descendants are to be found today in the nearby modern city of Nablūs. Such a cursory survey scarcely does justice to Wright’s treatment of the history of Shechem and of the Biblical traditions relating to it, but the general scope of his study is thus indicated.

In June 1964, after Wright had completed this volume, the excavation staff returned to Tell Balāṭah for the fifth (and what was hoped to be the last) campaign. Judging from the *Confidential Newsletter* of the American Schools dated November 15, 1964, and from press releases concerning the remarkable discovery of the foundations of a Samaritan temple on the northernmost peak of Mt. Gerizim, a future campaign will have to be planned. While the last word on Shechem has yet to be written, we are deeply indebted to Wright and the staff of the Drew-McCormick expedition for what has been written.

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Ancient Festivals of “Saturnalia” Type. By PROTEINE P. BOURBOULIS. “*Hellēnika Periodikon Suggramma Hetaireias Makedonikōn Spoudōn Parartēma*,” Vol. 16. Thessalonikē, 1964. Pp. 60.

Dr. Bourboulis describes interesting similarities between Western Asiatic festivals

and the classical Roman Saturnalia and Greek Cronia. Common mythological themes (e.g., Hurrian Kumarbi and Greek Cronos legends) and the well-known mercantile contacts between the lands of the Aegean and Western Asia especially in the formative days of the second millennium B.C. also strengthen the hope that one day more explicit cultural relationships may be able to be traced between these areas.

This book’s fundamental thesis, however, regarding the interconnection of the precise Western Asiatic and European festivals discussed must be regarded as unproven. Greater critical evaluation and more discriminate use of the disparate ancient source materials are required in dealing with problems of this kind. For instance, the supposed relationship between the later Saturnalia-type festivals and the Babylonian *Akitu* (New Year) festival rests on shaky evidence; the Enlil:Marduk::Cronus:Zeus parallelism collapses when one examines the Babylonian sources. Enlil and Marduk are not successive lords of the pantheon within a synchronic mythological context; Marduk simply takes the place of Enlil in later Babylonian versions of the creation myth (just as Assur replaces Marduk or Enlil in Assyrian versions). Similarly, such phenomena as the “license of slaves” at the time of the dedication of Gudea’s Eninnu temple are simply transferred to all later New Year festivals without any supporting evidence. More serious, of course, is the unqualified acceptance of Hellenistic and later sources as testimony for ancient Western Asiatic religious customs—apparently on the same level with contemporary indigenous literary traditions referring to the same, or similar institutions.

The book would have profited considerably had the manuscript been read by someone more conversant with English idiom. Much of the phraseology is awkward, not to say misleading, and the number of printing errors is disproportionately large.

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Akkadisches Handwörterbuch unter Benützung des lexikalischen Nachlasses von BRUNO MEISSNER (1868-1947). Bearbeitet von WOLFRAM VON SODEN. Vol. 1. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1959-1965. Pp. 585.

The completion of the first volume of the *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch* prompts me to write this belated review, or rather, this appreciation of the extraordinary achievement of Professor von Soden, who has published single-handed six fascicles within as many years, altogether 585 pages.

Personal scruples have been the reason for my repeatedly delaying this task; I have always thought and still maintain that it is not quite *bushido* for an editor of one Assyrian dictionary to write a conventional book review of another Assyrian dictionary. Since the book reviews of both, the *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch* (*AHw.*) and the *Assyrian Dictionary* of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago (*CAD*), have so far been mainly concerned with the history of Akkadian lexicography, paltry philological details, mostly irrelevant additions and statistics, I propose to offer here an evaluation of the *AHw.* in order to characterize the differences in scholarly mood and intellectual outlook between these two works.

The *AHw.* is admirable in its conciseness and completeness. A wealth of material and information is found there in a highly concentrated—not to say compressed—arrangement, systematized to the utmost. The coverage of the textual evidence achieved by the *AHw.* could unreservedly be called excellent were it not for the exclusion of nearly all writings in logograms, which in certain text categories entails a considerable loss of information. An unfortunate situation prevails in Assyriology inasmuch as only a fraction of the text material is available in critical and reliable editions, many texts are only partially understood, and a number of text categories still consist of more or less unrelated fragments. Therefore, the important corrections, emendations, and references to unpublished material in the *AHw.*, which advance our understanding of specific passages, are most welcome. It is, of course,

regrettable that this essential aspect of Assyriological research work is still part of the lexicographer's task instead of in the hands of those who publish texts. Needless to say, Von Soden keeps up, with enviable efficiency, with the constant influx of new material.

Splendid as Von Soden's "Ordnungswille" is in the overall organization of the individual articles where strict morphological arrangement rules supreme, it seems less adequate and heuristically less effective when the singling out of meaning categories and the isolating of nuances are involved. There is a certain reluctance in the *AHw.* to depart from traditional assumptions about meanings, a readiness to accept quasi-mythological "Grundbedeutungen," and also a tendency to rely on such translations as the dictionaries of cognate languages may suggest, which, in most instances, are traditional and hardly trustworthy. Such sobriety, however, seems in my opinion to fail to do justice to the richness and the diversity of the cuneiform text material and places, in this way, an unwarranted restriction on the utilization of the information available. A similar overcautious attitude can be discerned in the *AHw.*'s approach to what I consider the main problem fields in Akkadian lexicography at present: first, the meanings—or better, the maximal meaning approximations—of the numerous Akkadian words for specific objects (apparel, tools, etc.), materials (stones, plants, etc.), and animals (birds, insects, fish); and second, the not less necessary and exciting task of disentangling the abundant specific nuances of such apparently well-known verbs as, e.g., *parāsu* and *nakāsu*. Though difficult indeed, these tasks must be undertaken unless Assyriologists resign themselves to the prevailing vagueness in their translations. Occasional mistranslations might result, but without occasional errors and their corrections, without dialogue and intellectual involvement, Assyriology cannot and must not function.

Since the time might not have come yet for an Assyrian dictionary to offer unequivocal statements and clear-cut definitions, each

dictionary has to come to terms with the nature of the available evidence and the goal the editor sets for his work.

In this essential respect the *CAD* is basically a utopian undertaking. It aims, on the semantic side, to relate meanings to the social context and technological background in which the references occur, and strives toward a useful and revealing coordination of the Akkadian and the Sumerian evidence (which is essential for the semantic history of many words), and attempts to present each reference in a small but meaningful section of its context. Thus, the reason for a translation becomes clear even to the Assyriologist who does not have at his disposal a first-class library to check a string of references. It also cites difficult and corrupt passages in the hope that a fortunate accident or someone's ingenious emendation may bring about their elucidation.

Let me conclude with stating my conviction that it is a great boon to Assyriology that both dictionaries, the *AHw.* and the *CAD*, are planned and executed in the way they are. Their nearly simultaneous publication enhances the value of both; if published one without the other, their effectiveness would be much more restricted. It is to be hoped, therefore, that their continued publication will be a stimulus to the younger Assyriologists to turn to the fascinating pursuits of lexicography.

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Aspects of the Crusades. By J. J. SAUNDERS.
University of Canterbury Publications, No.
3. Christchurch, New Zealand: University
of Canterbury, 1962. Pp. 80.

This is a collection of essays on various aspects of the Crusades, relating particularly to the Muslim and Christian East. The author does not propose to present new views but wants to give a summary of the results of recent research by Arabists throwing new

light on the impact of the Crusades on the Muslim world.

The first chapter offers a brief history of the literature on the Crusades. The second deals with the genesis of the idea of a Holy War in Christianity, which, unlike Islam, originally was essentially anti-militarist. There are further chapters on the role of the Ismā'īlis in weakening Muslim solidarity against the Christian invaders, on the importance of Egypt, which was to become the power base from where the Muslims foiled both Frankish and Mongol war efforts, on the part of the Kingdom of Lesser Armenia as the most faithful ally of the Crusaders among the Eastern Christian communities, and on the relations between the Crusaders and the Mongols, who for a short time appeared as promising allies in the overthrow of Islam. The final chapter with the title "*The Passing of Near Eastern Civilization*" summarizes the great changes brought about in the Muslim world during the age of the Crusades, though certainly not all as a direct result of them: The momentous weakening of the Oriental Christian communities, the reduction of the Ismā'īlī movement to impotence, the decline of Muslim civilization and scholarship as a result of the destruction caused by the Mongol invasion, the cultural division of the Muslim world into two parts using either Arabic or Persian as their literary language, and the emergence of a rigid concept of orthodoxy controlling education, which stifled scientific inquiry. There are notes containing references and critical comments.

The little book meets its limited objective. The major developments and currents in Orientalist research on the Crusades are well grasped and, despite a few errors in detail, competently set forth in a balanced, integrated presentation. The work makes attractive reading and commends itself as a short introduction to the Eastern side in the history of the Crusades for students mainly concerned with the Western side.

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